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Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

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NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

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To the Executive Committee of the American A. S. Society:

The sheets you will receive herewith were furnished to me by Mr. Gideon Palmer, of Montville, in this State. They contain a sketch of his travels and experience in the Southern States, with observations and inductions, illustrating the influence of slavery on the manners and morals of the community. Their publication, by his permission, is hereby submitted to your discretion.

Yours, &c. Wm. Bolles.

Reminiscences of Several Tours in the Southern States,

Made with a design to introduce the manufacture of Cotton-seed Oil; with Observations and Reflections on the state of society.

I first went to the South in the fall of 1830, for the purpose of establishing the manufacture of cotton-seed oil.

Having been, for many years, a manufacturer of oil from linseed, I had recently procured several parcels of cotton-seed, which I worked as an experiment. The result fully answered my expectations, and it occurred to me that the business might be profitably carried on in the States where the seed was grown,—being there plenty and cheap. I suggested the idea to persons from the South, and their friends, and it was received with favor and regarded as feasible.

My first engagement was in Petersburg, Virginia, in the employ of Smith and Boysaw, for whom I superintended the building of a mill, and putting in operation machinery for that purpose. This afforded me the first opportunity for making personal observations on the nature, practice, and influence of the system of slavery.

On my journey out, after leaving Richmond, a gentleman in the stage appeared to notice that I was unacquainted with the practice of that part of the country in regard to the laboring classes; and learning that I was from the North, in the course of conversation, he gave me to understand that the white people took no part in servile labors. This gave a new direction to my thoughts concerning myself; for, having been always accustomed to labor with my workmen at home, I of course expected to do the same there. We soon discovered a number of black people, men and women, leisurely employed, near the roadside, cutting and picking up wood, and a white person, with a great-coat on, stood at a small distance from them, with a cane in his hand, idle. I asked my informant what the business of that white man was. He replied, that he was their overseer, and that his business was to keep the negroes at work. Not being yet fully disciplined in Southern tactics, in spite of the intimation already given, that whites did not labor there, I permitted the results of my former education and habits, so far to develope themselves, as to exclaim, "he has no axe. Don't he work?" "Certainly not," was the reply; "that would not answer here; it is not customary!" Well, said I, I should much rather take the place of one of his servants, than to stand there, idle, shivering, as he does, with the cold. This created quite a sensation among the passengers, who seemed to shrink from the idea of a white man laboring, and inquired of me the custom at the North, which, when I explained, appeared as new to them as theirs was to me.

Proceeding on, we met a team, heavily loaded, driven by a negro. He made every exertion to get out of the way, and turned out further than is customary in the North, leaving almost the whole road to the stage. I saw not the least delinquency on the part of the black man. The driver, however, thought otherwise; for, when opposite, and the black man between his team and the stage, he stopped his horses, and, seizing the lash in his hand with the stock of his whip, commenced striking and beating him over the head and shoulders, with all his might, the poor fellow cringing and screaming for mercy, till I feared he would perish under the infliction. I should think he gave him from twenty to thirty blows, and then, as he passed on, he exclaimed—"Damn you, next time get your team out of the way of the stage." Among the passengers, who were chiefly southerners, the circumstance excited no surprise, some cooly observing, "He stood and took it well." Others said, "The driver was rather severe," but all seemed to consider it a matter of no moment, as he was a negro. I was horror-struck, but dared not express my indignation at seeing an old man, for no offence, wantonly beaten down under the heavy whip of a merciless stage-driver.

In this connection, I wish to advert to one item in the detail of the horrors of slavery, or that state growing out of a social compact which legalizes, as far as a portion of the inhabitants are concerned, all the evils that one human being can inflict upon another, which I do not think has received the share of attention its importance demands; and that is, the treatment of slaves by indifferent persons, in the absence of their masters; and for which, not only the slave is deprived of the privilege of redress, either personal or legal, but the master himself can have no remedy, and sustain no claim, unless he can show a loss of service, in consequence of disability, resulting from such treatment. The amount of suffering from this cause is immense. My whole experience afterwards at the South confirms the truth of this assertion. The above instance is but a single illustration of the practice which may be considered one of the legitimate, though monstrous progeny resulting naturally from the connection of human depravity with irresponsible power. Whoever will look into the human mind, and recognise the love of power which is implanted or engendered there, and contemplate its exercise unconnected with the controlling influence of Divine love, will find no difficulty in discovering the temptation presented to base men by this entire removal of protection from the slave, for the exercise of that power which they see others possess. And as this class of men have not even the interest of the owner in the slaves' well-being, their conduct towards them usually corresponds with their own want of worth.

Do any ask, why laws are not made by the masters to prevent this abuse, supposing, as is the case, that it must be at least unpleasant to them, to have even their property misused by worthless men? I answer, this licence runs parallel with the main artery of the system, and is so closely connected with it that it cannot be extirpated without hazarding its vital flow. Any attempt to abolish or modify it, would be an acknowledgement, to a certain extent, of the right of the slave; and that right against free white persons. This would be a germ of liberty, which might eventually work an entire revolution in the slaves' condition. Slavery is the extinction of all right.—And the masters suffer this annoyance rather than endanger, in the most remote degree, the perpetuity of the institution.

When I arrived in Petersburg, I lived in the family of one of my employers, Mr. Jabesh Smith. Soon after, as I was one evening sitting with the family, a little boy about ten years old, whom he had lately bought, and who was sitting in the corner of the room, began to sigh, and putting his hands to his mouth showed evident symptoms of uneasiness. Mr. S. at first reproved him sharply, but as he soon resumed the sobbing, he proceeded, without making any inquiry as to the cause, to cuff, strike, and beat the child unmercifully, and send him off to his bunk. The next morning, he observed to me that he did not know but he was rather severe with the boy, as he had ascertained that he had an ulcerated tooth, which, during the night, had broken out through his cheek on the outside! Thus it will be seen, that the sobs, for which he was so unmercifully beaten, the evening before, were but the involuntary outbreaks of anguish which he could not silently endure, and dared not frankly disclose. How different, thought I, is this treatment from that resulting from the ordinary solicitous inquiries and anxiety of that parental fondness which is wisely designed as the guardian of our tender years! and I execrated the system which interrupts the flow of the natural affections.

I do not mention this circumstance to expose the cruelty of Mr. S., who, though an irritable man, usually gave his equals no cause to charge him with uncivil conduct, or a ferocious temper. Neither do I mention it as an instance of that savage barbarity, or brutal conduct which many expect, and many give in a narrative of the evils of slavery, samples of which are not wanting within my own knowledge; but which I do not consider as forming a tythe of the aggregate sufferings of the system. For causes of outrageous atrocity may, and do, occur in every country, and under every form of society on the earth, with which we are acquainted; but no where are they so common as in a slave country, where they can be screened under the sanction of law. They are not, therefore, a peculiarity of the system.—But, I mention it to illustrate that habit of mind naturally resulting from the exercise of irresponsible power, and as a specimen of the little grievances to which the slave is subject at all times, and under all circumstances, and which are superadded to the constant galling cord which binds his mind to the operation of other men's wills, the fluctuating and uncertain direction of which he can never anticipate. He may stand too long, or he may move too soon. To him the future is double darkness. An usurper has intervened between the ordinary operation of God's providence and his condition. When at work, he knows not whether his exertions are satisfactory to his mercenary overseer, whose own reputation depends, in a measure, on the amount of labor he may exact from him; and a crack from the whip may be the first intimation of his dissatisfaction. When he returns at night, tired, to his hut, he feels no security that those dear to him, from whom he may have parted in the morning, are not sold to a distant part of the country, to be seen by him no more on earth; or cropped, or branded, that they may be more easily detected, should they, in desperation, seek liberty by flight. And perhaps he may find his wife's back lacerated, even for fidelity to himself. His imagination is haunted with scenes of cruelty and the sundering of the holiest ties. Of one thing only he is certain, and that is his own inability to afford relief to those he loves, or to obtain redress for his own or others' injuries. He cannot sit, stand, work, speak or stir, free from a state of the most painful apprehension, and these, whether realized or not, are what degrade his mind, and rob him of himself. They are the little sands, that form the mountain of his oppression—the innumerable little drops, which constitute the ocean of his afflictions.

A custom there, new to me, but afterwards familiarized by repeated occurrence, will serve to show the entire disregard of the slave's comfort, and how effectually the masters will exhaust all their energies, and sacrifice all their ease, in prospect of the most trivial gratification or convenience. Mr. Smith's waiting woman, who was required to be first up in the morning, and who spent the whole day in laborious employment, was obliged to stand all the evening, till the family had all retired, perhaps till ten, eleven, or twelve o'clock, in some remote corner of the room, subject to the call of any child or other person, who might chance to want a glass of water, or some other equally trivial attendance. The chiding which was necessary to drive sleep from this tired woman, who, uninterested in the midst of their hilarity, and deprived of the privilege of rallying her exhausted powers by any participation in the social chat, stood nodding, often pained my heart. But the reflecting mind will see, that even these apparently unnecessary exertions are not only a legitimate fruit of the system, but that they involve a principle necessary to its very existence; for any show of interest in the slave's comfort would be a virtual acknowledgement of their right to enjoy it, and might produce that state of things which the southerners denote by incessantly reiterating, "If you give a slave an inch, he will take an ell." Slavery, to be complete, must extinguish all rights. Requirements of slaves must be limited only by their powers of endurance.

Little or no attention is paid to the lodging of slaves. Mr. Smith had a cooper's shop near his flouring mill, where eight or ten negro men, coopers, usually worked. No provision was made for their lodging. They commonly made a fire of chips and shavings on the ground near one end of the building, and spreading shavings for their bed, would wrap themselves in a coarse blanket, put their feet towards the fire, and thus spend the night on the ground.

In regard to labor performed by slaves, I found it as I should have anticipated from the nature of the system. There were a few who showed some enterprise, and took some pride in the proper performance of their labor; but the greater portion manifest an almost entire indifference to the accomplishment of business. The two most remarkable exceptions to the above rule, that came under my observation in Petersburg, were in the persons of Billy, a carpenter, and a blacksmith, whose name I do not recollect. They were enterprising, energetic, and active, like northern mechanics.

Before going to the South, I was told that I could not get along with business there as I did at the North; but, feeling ardently for the success of the undertaking, I persuaded myself that, with the same number of laborers and mechanics, I could accomplish the same, or nearly the same, amount of labor. In this, however, I was greatly deceived. Instead of men ambitious to show their worth as laborers, as is the case with free persons where compensation is expected to correspond with their ability, I was furnished with persons whose interest it was to do as little as possible, and escape corporal punishment.

The cause of this listlessness, which soon acquires the force of habit, will be easily understood, when it is known, that an exhibition of great ability or willingness to work would only tend to enhance their value as property; and while no personal benefits would accrue to themselves or their friends, the probability of their sale and separation from their families would be greatly increased, by the temptation which the high prices they would bring would continually present to needy or avaricious owners. There is, also, another consideration, which does not escape their ken. Should they be sold for a high price, in consequence of great tact or strength, performances proportioned to the money paid would be expected and required, and if not accomplished, would subject the delinquent to punishment when an ordinary hand would escape.

As an exemplification of the high prices attached to such slaves as Billy and the blacksmith, I would state, that though considerably advanced in age, they were valued, one at $1500, and the other at $2500! And here, as a matter of political economy, I cannot help alluding to the impolicy of a State in continuing a system, which, by abolishing all rational motives to industry, prevents the great mass of its laborers from becoming efficient and productive like these two men; and such as they from becoming the first artists of their age.

Should I be required to reconcile the conduct of such persons as Billy and the blacksmith with the general rule before named, I would state, that it was not without much reflection, that I was able to satisfy my own mind concerning such occasional exceptions. I have, however, become fully convinced that they are persons of superior natural endowments,—of that high order of mind that perceives sublimity in the possession of god-like faculties,—and whose intellectual vision is so clear, that they cannot be persuaded to doubt that their proper exercise will be productive of good, although their own experience forms but one continual draw-back on their belief. Such men enjoy a contemplative satisfaction in the employment of their faculties, of which ordinary minds have but a faint idea. Under a diminished amount of disabilities, they would become the Wrens, the Arkwrights, and the Wattses of their race.

Billy, the carpenter, took one of his own sons and several others, and learned them the trade, and with them used to go out to work for the neighboring planters, and bring the money home to his master. He told me that he had frequently brought home $400 and $600 at a time.

One day we had a very heavy thunder shower, during which we laid by our work. I took occasion, in the interim, to inquire of Billy respecting his master, and whether he was a professor of religion. He said, "He was formerly a Baptist, but afterwards he left the Baptists and joined the Methodists, and when the Methodists divided, he went with the radicals;" and after a short pause, he added, "and he ought to join one church more." Ah, said I, what do you mean by that, Billy? He replied, "*He ought to join Christ's church, and let his slaves go free.*"

Billy had a large family, and, among them, a little son, an active lad, who used to bring him his dinner. I told Billy I wished I had him in Connecticut, I would give him a common education at any rate. "The Lord, Massa," said he, "I wish you had him, but I 'spose my massa would not take $500 for him." He then went on to state, that he could get papers for himself, and could find my house in Connecticut, and would do so, if it were not for his wife and children, whom he should have to leave in slavery. And as they were in that situation, he chose to stay and suffer deprivation with them, rather than leave them destitute of what little care and protection he could afford them.

The slaves live in constant fear of being sold and separated from their families, and this state of apprehension forms the basis of continual threats by the master,—which, in my opinion, is one of the severest punishments they are called to undergo. Corporal wounds may heal and be forgotten, but to this there is no cessation. Billy appeared not much afraid of being sold while his master lived, unless he should meet with misfortune, bankruptcy, &c.; yet the distant apprehension of the separation, which would probably take place after his master's death, seemed to cause him immensely more anxiety than all the casualties, to which, in the natural providence of God, he was subject in common with us all. Thus, to him, who was as well situated as any slave I ever knew, were all the natural evils of life, which God in his providence has seen fit to annex to our earthly existence, more than doubled by the agency of man.

I was engaged in Petersburg about two months. I never knew a slave there that could read. Indeed, I never found but one slave that could read, and that was in Mobile.

Just before leaving Petersburg, Mr. Wheeler, a man who accompanied me out, informed me that he called one day, during a severe snow storm, at the house of Mr. Johnson, Mr. Smith's mill-wright, who owned a negro woman and two small children. He found the woman crying, apparently in great distress, and he asked her what the matter was. She said Mr. Johnson had gone away, to be absent a month or two—had locked up every thing, and left her no provisions, but told her she must work out and maintain herself and children while he was gone! She said she had been out looking for work, and could find no one who would employ her and keep her children at that season of the year. She knew not what to do, nor where to get any thing to keep herself and children alive. She seemed in a starving condition. He gave her a quarter of a dollar, and told her to go and buy her some meal, after which he knew nothing farther of her, but her destitute situation often brought sad reflections to his mind.

This case, which I have purposely avoided attempting to portray in vivid colors, from conscious inability to convey to the reader the impression which Mr. Wheeler's narration of it made on my mind, in connection with the knowledge I had of the circumstances, (for I, too, knew the woman and her master,) will serve to illustrate the falsity of two very common assertions made by slaveholders and their abettors. 1st. That "slaves are better off than the laboring classes of the North;" and 2d. "If set free, they could not take care of themselves." Free laborers at the North, though often deprived of the full benefit of their earnings, by the operations of unequal legislation, and aristocratic institutions, however great their wrongs, have the average of the year to provide for their necessities, and are not left entirely destitute in the winter, except by casualty or their own improvidence. And nothing short of entire confidence in ther ability to take care of themselves, added to a nice estimate of the truth of the sentiment contained in the old adage, "Hunger will break through stone walls," or, in other words, nerve the sufferer to unusual exertions, would induce an owner thus to risk his property. No one would think of leaving an ox or horse in such a situation. This case also serves further to illustrate the insatiable grasping of that system which does not hesitate to avail itself of the griping cravings of an empty stomach, and the yearning pangs of a parent's love, to force a mother to provide for herself and children, during the most inclement part of the year, deprived of any aid from the fruits of her former industry, which power had seized, and avarice had appropriated to itself.

In the vicinity of Petersburg, there is a large tract of worn-out land, called the "old field plains," on which are several houses of worship for the blacks, of different denominations. I attended their meetings a number of times. The preachers were colored men. One seemed to have some learning, but the others, I should think, were entirely unlettered. The preaching, prayers and singing seemed deeply to affect the minds of the people, and to produce much ardent feeling, a portion of which, I think, was sympathetic.

The exercises being devoid of the gossamer of conventional etiquette, their feelings were exhibited in an awkward combination of native simplicity with borrowed expressions and imitations of the worship of those whom they are taught to consider their superiors. Notwithstanding this, their contemplations and anticipations of heaven and future happiness appeared more vivid than any thing I had ever witnessed, which I accounted for on the ground of their great deprivations in this world, and the little prospect they have of comfort here.

When they throw their whole souls, and their full, clear voices into the enunciation, one feels almost like being wafted to the land of Canaan, while they sing—

> "And we'll praise him again
> When we pass over Jordan;"

And when they sing, also, as I have heard them, with all the pathos of conscious truth—

> "No foot of land do I possess,
> No cottage in this wilderness,
> A poor wayfaring man,
> I lodge awhile in tents below,
> Or gladly wander to and fro,
> Till I my Canaan gain;
> Nothing on earth, I call my own,
> A stranger to the world unknown," &c.

the effect is sadly thrilling.

One or two white persons were present at all these meetings, who, I was informed, were appointed to that duty, to see that no insurrectionary movements are concocted there. They appear as idle spectators, taking no interest in the exercises.

On my return, I was detained at Richmond, Va., three days in consequence of a great fall of snow, which rendered the roads impassible.—Here commenced my acquaintance with the slave trade. I put up at Hallam's Hotel. My attention was here attracted by the conversation of a Mr. King, a boarder in the house, and a man, as I was informed, of great wealth, whose business had been for a long time that of slave-trading.—He was a well dressed, gentlemanly looking man, and could, when he considered the occasion required it, assume an air of great urbanity and elegant address. He was about sixty years of age, carried a cane, and had but one eye; and from his general bearing and conversation, he seemed, mentally, to have a single eye to the destruction of all virtue, and to glory in poisoning the sources of human happiness.

I allude to this case to show the corrupting influence of the traffic in human beings. He appeared bent on debauching the minds and morals of all present. He spoke almost continually of the entire absence of virtue in the female sex, and declared it all purchasable at a low rate; and would illustrate this view of the subject by accounts of his own intrigues both with married and single women, intermixed with the most abominable oaths and imprecations that his powers of utterance could give vent to. He appeared to have a very extensive acquaintance, and to be recognized as a gentleman by persons visiting the house. The following is a sample of his usual salutations. A young man arrived from the western part of the State. As he entered the room, King exclaimed, "God damn your soul! how do you do? It is a long time since I have seen you. Wont you take something to drink?" And after some interchange of profanity, the young man said—"I was brought up to respect religion, and to have some regard to virtue, but since I became acquainted with this damned old King, I have lost it all. He will deprave the morals of any young man who comes under his influence." At this the room would almost shake with the old man's demoniac laugh. I would not dwell on this, were it not for the strong impression it made on my mind of the depth of degradation to which a traffic in men will sink a human being, and of the depravity of that community, where a man of this character could not only be tolerated, and find lodging in one of the most respectable hotels in the place, but be apparently respected. The legislature was in session, and a great number of persons, from different parts of the State, visited the house, and he appeared to be "hail fellow, well met," with most of them. I one day heard some one ask King, why he never got married. He replied, "I am not so big a damned fool as to part with my liberty among women so cheap."

I here witnessed, for the first time, the exposure of human beings at auction. There were, I believe, advertised in the papers, two sales daily during the sessions of the legislature. The first day, I set out to go to the sale. I passed down the opposite side of the street, and fearing I could not govern my feelings in such a scene, I went by, intending to brace up my nerves and come up on the side of the street where the auction was. But, before arriving at the place, my courage failed me, and I crossed the street, went along, and spent the rest of the day in the legislature. The next day I made another unsuccessful attempt.—The third day, I reasoned with myself thus:—I shall leave to-morrow, and shall go home, and there reflect that I have been to the South, and had not courage enough to attend a negro sale—not courage enough to behold the sufferings which others are obliged to endure. I accordingly went. I shall not attempt to describe the scene, inasmuch as accounts of slave auctions have often been given to the public, and there was nothing peculiar in this. So far as the sellers and buyers were concerned, their conduct and conversation were very similar to that exhibited at a sale of cattle at the North. The auctioneers would recommend these specimens of brutalized humanity as sound in their limbs and expert in their several occupations, and almost invariably add, that they were sold for no fault! One feature, however, differed widely from that of the sale of horses, which may be, and generally are, trained to make a splendid appearance on the day of sale; but with the slaves it was widely different. Sorrow and degradation were depicted on all their countenances, and no attempt was made by those that wanted them to require of them mirth. And I asked myself, Why is this? and the answer was, They are human, and possess immortal minds; and this is a tacit, yet unequivocal indication of it.

In 1833, I left home for Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on the same business that called me to Petersburg. In passing through North Carolina, a man by the name of Bowen, a Baptist minister, from Virginia, took passage in the stage. He was travelling to Montgomery, Alabama, and we kept company the whole distance, several hundred miles, which occupied six or seven days.

Learning that I was of the same denomination with himself, and from the North, and not reconciled to the system of slavery, he took great pains to illustrate the subject, and to familiarize my mind with it. He often inquired of me how colored people were treated with us, and expressed himself strongly on the impropriety of allowing them the privileges which I told him they enjoyed at the North. He appeared anxious to convince me that their plan was not only necessary, but more peculiarly adapted to the nature and circumstances of the negroes, and their proper standing in society, than ours. I will give a few specimens of the manner in which he attempted to enlighten my mind. He said that any white man had not only a right to stop any negro, and make him give an account of himself, but that it was his duty to do so, and to demand his pass, if he had any reason to believe he was off the plantation. An dthis he said he would do to the next negro we should meet. We soon met one. He asked the driver to stop, and, in a stern voice, called the man by some common negro appellation. He tremblingly stopped. Bowen asked him where he was going. He replied, "To Massa's house." "Where have you been?" said Bowen. "Been to work on plantation two miles off." He then told him he might go, and we went on. "There," said he to me, "you see the subjection the negroes live in with us." The process of stopping and questioning negroes he repeated time and again during our journey. After repeated illustrations of this entire subjugation of the negroes, not only to their owners but to any white person, young or old, (for he told me that even children were in duty bound to stop and interrogate negroes, if they had any reason to suppose them out of place, as much as they would be to stop stray cattle,) I remarked, that I did not see how these poor creatures, under such restrictions, could love their masters. "They do, however," said he, "and I will prove it from their own lips." Accordingly, at the next stopping place, after we were seated in the stage, he called to the man who assisted in harnessing our horses, "Boy, do you love your massa?" "Yes, massa," he replied. "Massa use you well?" "Yes, massa." And the stage drove off. "There," said Bowen, "you see they love their masters." "Yes," said a Mr. Cavarly, a northern man, who accompanied me, "I suppose he dared as well die as to say otherwise." Bowen smiled, and seemed rather pleased with this *Yankee idea*. He, however, repeated this proof of slaves' love for their masters, many times on the road.

Bowen endeavored to illustrate to my mind the necessity of this absolute subjugation of the negro race, on the ground of neighborly kindness; or, in other words, of doing as you would be done by; for, in all his conversation, he seemed to regard the negroes as distinct from the human race, and to consider the whites only as coming within the obligations of the golden rule. His idea was that it requires a combination of all the powers and exertions of the white population to keep them in that state of subjection, which, to his mind, appeared self-evidently necessary. This explains the basis of belief in the necessity of this constant exposure to white *surveillance*, and uncèremonious questioning. For, if allowed to have or keep secrets, they might plot their own deliverance, or, as slaveholders usually express it, "the destruction of their masters." "It is," said he, "a necessary protection of property, and the more strict the discipline with them, the better they will love you. It will not do to give them an inch, for they will take an ell."

Mr. Bowen told me he had been engaged in keeping a boarding school for the education of young men, of the Baptist denomination, designed for the ministry; that he owned a small farm, or plantation, and a few negroes. He said that the usages of society in the place where he lived had become so extravagant, and that the expenses of living in the circle and style in which, from his station and standing, he was expected to move, were so great, that his situation was annoying and unpleasant; and that he intended to purchase a plantation in a less fashionable part of the country, where he could live more to his liking and at a cheaper rate.

When three or four miles out of Montgomery, we passed by the shantees, where the negroes, intended for market, are kept for the convenience of their owners, to be exposed at auction in the daily sales at Montgomery. It was here observed by the driver, and some of the passengers, that out of fifteen hundred slaves confined there during the "cholera," a few months before, about one half died; and that, they said, was a heavy stroke to the negro dealers. And this seemed to be almost the only point of view in which they contemplated this dreadful calamity!

When we arrived at Montgomery, I was detained two or three days, waiting for the stage to to Tuscaloosa. I put up at a public house, and Mr. Bowen lodged with some acquaintance in the place. There were two regular slave auctions; one in the market-house, after market hours, and the other in the old court-house.—These, together with an extensive gambling establishment, called "The Exchange," seemed to constitute a great portion of the business of the place. During my stay here, Mr. Bowen accompanied me to the market-house, to see the negroes who were to be exposed at auction. They were arranged in the different parts of the house, the women on one side and the men on the other, sitting or leaning upon the stalls, ready for examination. Here Mr. Bowen undertook to illustrate the truth of what he had previously told me, that the sale of negroes was not so horrible an affair, for they were generally sold agreeably to their own choice, and had the privilege of selecting their masters. There were three of us in company. He proceeded to ask "wenches," as he termed them, their names, and which of us they would choose for a master. They being obliged to reply, would select one of us by speaking or nodding. After asking a number in this way, both men and women, he turned to me and said, "Now, if you wanted to purchase slaves, and should purchase those who have chosen you for their master, you would purchase them with their own consent, and in accordance with their own choice." And this reasoning, though so grossly flimsy, seemed actually to pacify the conscience of this southern clergyman!

Mr. Bowen here fell in with an old acquaintance, a lawyer, who was wealthy, and had recently moved to that part of the country, from whom he expected to obtain information and advice in regard to his own location. The lawyer engaged to take him the next morning, in his coach, into the country, to show him his own and the surrounding plantations, in order to befriend him in the selection of a place for himself. I saw him, however, the next day, about noon, and asked him why he had not gone to the country, as he expected. He said, his friend was so much intoxicated that he was unable to go, but that he should wait for him to get sober; and, he added, that it was no uncommon thing for gentlemen there to be indisposed in that way. He waited for his recovery, however, day after day, till I left the place.

There was also a passenger in the stage, during our journey, a professional gambler, by the name of John O'Handly. Having become considerably acquainted with him and his history during our travels, I very willingly accepted of his invitation to accompany him to the "Exchange," or gambling house; this being a place likely to create as much interest, and gratify curiosity in a stranger's mind as almost any other in the town,—scarcely excepting the slave auctions; these two apparently involving more moneyed transactions than all the other business of the place. The exterior of the building was quite magnificent, surmounted by a splendid sign, containing in large letters the word "Exchange." The front of the house was occupied as a bar-room, fitted up with all the splendor that decanters, liquors, and gilding, would impose. Passing thro' this room, we entered the "Bank," as it is called. The banker sat at the head of a large table, around which numerous adventurers were standing, who would each lay down, on different numbers marked on the table, such sums as they proposed to play for. These sums the banker would match, and then, by drawing cards, in some way unknown to me, decide the game. The process occupied but a very short time, when it would be again repeated. Thus it will be seen that very large sums of money would be exchanged in the course of an evening. Mr. O'Handly immediately commenced playing, and laid down largely.—All passed on smoothly for the first and second evenings; but, on the third evening, when Mr. O'Handly laid down, the banker tapped with his feet and shook his head; at which O'Handly took up his money and immediately went out. I afterwards asked him why he left so abruptly. He said the banker would not stand his bet. He had previously told me that he was gambling for a company, who had several others in their employ. He said that he was authorized to lay down enough to break any bank that would play with him. He could go as high as high as thirty thousand dollars.

I learned by him that gambling was there systemized as much as any other branch of business. The banks, according to their condition, would appropriate certain sums to constitute the evening's stock, as our banks would their available funds for the discount of merchants' notes; and they made regular dividends.

I will give an abstract of O'Handly's history, as he gave it to me during our journey. He was, when young, a clerk in a store in Augusta, and was, by education and habit, opposed to gambling. Soon after, he commenced business on his own account, and purchased goods in Savannah to a considerable amount, which he exchanged for the produce of the country, principally for cotton.—He also owned several slaves. At the usual season of the year, he procured a "box," as it is called there, which somewhat resembles our scows, but more slightly made, being only intended to convey the goods down the river to market, and there sold for what it would bring. With this, manned by his slaves, he went down the river to Savannah, carrying the cotton he had received in exchange for his goods, intending to sell it and pay his debts, purchase more goods, and repeat the same operation another year. He proceeded by land direct to Savannah, and arrived there several days before his "box." He had, however, before this, acquired some little relish for gambling, on a small scale. To pass away the time till his "box" should arrive, he amused himself at a gambling house, with various success, and some severe losses. Anxiety and desperation, added to the hope of ultimate gain, urged him to make larger and larger bets, till, before the arrival of his "box," he had lost all—cotton, negroes and box—and, as he expressed it, every cent of property he had on earth. He immediately called on his principal creditor, and told him that he had been gambling, had been unfortunate, lost all his property, and was unable to pay him a dollar. The creditor exclaimed, "You have undone me, I depended on you to meet my payments, and I must fail." The amount he owed him was twelve or fifteen thousand dollars. Gambling seemed now his only resource. He procured among his friends seventeen dollars, with which he commenced the business. He travelled from place to place—to Mobile and New Orleans—and becoming quite expert, in the course of eighteen months acquired nineteen thousand dollars. He then proceeded to Savannah, where he arrived in the night. He at once proceeded to his creditor's door, and rapped. He cried "Who's there?" "John O'Handly," was the reply. "Well, what do you want?" exclaimed the creditor. "I have come to pay you every cent I owe you." God bless you, John," rejoined he, "it aint possible!" He declared it was. He was let in, and paid him the money—and a joyful meeting they had.

After this, he continued to follow the same business, and was then an agent acting for a company with a large capital. He was attended by a mulatto man, his slave, whom he valued at $2000, who rode in the stage with us all the way; and I would here add, that there is not that sensitive fastidiousness about sitting or riding with negroes there, that is often exhibited in a northern stage-coach or steamboat.

The only instance I saw at the South was that of a northern man who accompanied me. When a southerner, who had bought two negro girls, entered the stage, and placed his slaves on the back seat, he took umbrage, and insisted that they should change their seats. Their owner permitted them to do so. He soon suggested another change. Their master said, "no," and contemptuously called him "mean." This served as a most effectual reproof for his false sentiment.

I once availed myself of this northern prejudice to good advantage. In New-York, on my way home, I found the stages overloaded with passengers. I applied for a seat. The proprietor said I could not have one, for they were all taken up, both inside and out. He afterwards mentioned, rather hesitatingly, that there was a seat unoccupied by the side of a colored woman, which no one would take. I observed, "I have been to the South and am not afraid of negroes," and gladly availed myself of the place; and so powerful did I find the influence of example, that, by the time we had proceeded some fifteen or twenty miles, and made two or three stops, either of the passengers would as soon take that seat as any other.

As O'Handly followed gambling as a business, we had some discussion on the morality of the profession, which he contended was as fair and honorable as any other, in which the profits are not based on actual production. He instanced operations like those of the capitalist, who speculates in stocks, running his risk of their rise or fall; the dealers in lotteries, which, he said, were granted in Northern States, even for pious purposes; the merchant, who buys goods with the expectation of a rise in price; the usurer, who, to procure a higher rate of interest than the law allows, obtains a charter to issue paper money, by wheedling the people into a belief that it is intended for their benefit; the insurer, who, for the gain of a premium, incurs the risk of a loss; in short, every business, which by any mode, however circuitous, contemplates getting more than

an equivalent for what is given. He said gambling was a shorter and more expeditious mode of arriving at the same result, and equally honorable. The argument I more easily answered than refuted, by stating that it indicated the wickedness of the practices to which he referred, instead of amounting to a vindication of his profession.

Perhaps some may ask, what all this has to do with slavery! But, to those who are aware that "fullness of bread" and "abundance of idleness" were the immediate cause of the vice and licentiousness which preceded the destruction of Sodom, it will be equally evident, that the leisure and luxury naturally resulting to that class of persons, whose wants are supplied by other people's labors, added to the almost total extinction of the principle of equivalents, which the habitual appropriations of the products of slave labor necessarily produces, but which forms the basis of all honest and healthful transfers and interchanges of property, clearly indicate that not only gambling, but almost the whole catalogue of vices, is the legitimate fruit of this usurpation of power. Indeed, in any country, vice is found to bear a striking proportion to the unequal operation of its governing institutions; or, in other words, so far as men succeed in thwarting the divine ordinance, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread," so far do they succeed in substituting vice and misery for the highest degree of virtue and happiness attainable in our present state of existence. The ever active mind of man, when once broken loose from the restraints of its Maker's law, which is no other than the direction of Infinite Wisdom for its greatest progress and highest attainment, necessarily seeks scope for the exercise of its deathless energies in the gratification of the lower propensities; and the result is, drunkenness, gluttony, lust, and pride—sustained among the helpless and ignorant by the direst operation of rapine and slavery, but among those farther advanced in knowledge and power, by the greater intricacies of indirect taxation and chartered monopolies.

When once the practice of any vice has received the sanction of idleness and fashion, it seldom lacks votaries from a class of men of secondary minds, who, though engaged in honest and useful occupations, conceive that distinction and enjoyment are to be attained most readily by aping the manners and adopting the habits of the self-constituted leaders of what they call refined society, who, scorning to work that they may eat, are necessarily driven, in one form or another, to commit continual robbery to support themselves in a state of vicious splendor. And their imitators, again acting the same part, contribute to diffuse the poison through every ramification of society, where their influence can operate. And where is the limit!—Whose lungs are safe, when the atmosphere is corrupted!

An instance in point occurred at this place. A Mr. ——, (I have forgotten his name,) who told me that he was a Scotchman, that he first landed in this country at Stonington, Ct. and resided there a while, a painter by trade, was waiting, at the same hotel with myself, for a passage to Tuscaloosa. I observed him at the Exchange, gambling, and as he had mentioned having lived in Stonington, in my own State, and we were to be passengers together, I took the liberty to suggest to him the impropriety of the practice, and the danger he was in of losing his money. But he persisted in his course. On leaving Montgomery, I observed this man; his looks downcast and melancholy. I asked him of his success at the Exchange. He replied, "Last evening, I was unfortunate. I had about three hundred dollars, and I lost it all. I have had to borrow money to pay my fare to Tuscaloosa." He then added, "My business has been good. I have had several government jobs, —and if it had not been for the relish for gambling, which I have acquired in the southern States, I should have been independent. I have lost thirty thousand dollars in the same way.

But, it may be objected, that gambling, licentiousness, and other vices, are not confined to the slaveholding States, but also obtain a footing in the free States. True; but they exist there in a diminished ratio, bearing full proportion to the more equal enjoyment of natural rights; and this, so far from invalidating the truth of the above position, is one of its strongest proofs. For who that has any knowledge of the mobbings, lynchings, outrages and assassinations that have been committed in the nominally free States, to prevent even the discussion of the subject of equal rights, would look there for the full fruits of their unrestricted enjoyment? Who that has observed the commercial relations, and the family connections, existing between the inhabitants of the northern and southern States, added to the natural sympathy between the aristocracy of the two sections of country, whose affinity is nervously expressed by Senator Morris, in his condensed style, "The cotton bale and the bank note have formed an alliance;" who, I say, that has observed these things, would anticipate results different from those that have occurred! And what lover of his race does not rejoice that a distinction, so marked, does exist between the morals of the two sections of country, favorable to the position, that virtue and happiness flourish most where equal liberty is enjoyed, and vice prevails in proportion as equality is subverted. And this, notwithstanding the cunning device of the enemy of man, to fasten vice upon free institutions, under the fallacious pretext of the freedom of the northern States.

I would here observe, that during my short stay in Montgomery, it seemed to me the most wicked place I was ever in. Several shots were exchanged while I was there; and I saw one young man who had just had his hand shattered in a duel, who was lurking about with the professed intention (I often heard him express it,) of privately shooting his antagonist. Such affrays seemed to excite no attention.—The transition from the disregard of the life of a slave, to that of a free person, is very natural and easy.

When I arrived at Tuscaloosa, I explained to Mr S. and others, my views of the business for which I had been invited to that place. They at once proposed an outlay of $50,000; for every thing *there* was, at that time, projected on a large scale. They offered me a liberal salary, I taking a share of the concern. I declined the offer, but recommended a small esteblishment, by way of trial, which, if successful, could easily be enlarged. To this they finally agreed, and advised to purchase slaves to perform the labor. But, as I was to own a quarter of the mill, I told them I should not buy men, but hire them. I gave the preference to free laborers, but hired some slaves; and adopted with all the temperance plan.

In all my intercourse with slaves, nothing more strongly fixed my attention on the spirit-crushing effect of their condition, than their entire destitution of motive, and nothing so completely baffled my own efforts. All the usual incentives to industry and economy are powerless, when applied to them. If they work harder, or produce more, they receive no benefit. They cannot even convey any of their extra earnings home to their families; their scanty pittance must remain the same. Indeed, as I have before stated, should they exhibit unusual powers of body or mind, (I say mind, yet I mean only those operations of mind, which tend to give a profitable direction to physical exertions; for, beyond this, the mind of the slave is not recognised by the master,) the great probability is, that instead of profiting by it, it would prove to them the occasion of accumulated calamities. The master would regard it with pleasure, only as an addition of value to his property; and as able-bodied and ingenious mechanics, bring a higher price and command a more ready sale than ordinary hands, he would not fail, when urged by avarice or necessity, to throw these qualities into the market—the effect of which must be a family separation—a realization of that affliction, the dread of which constitutes the severest punishment to which the slave is subjected. Its operation is a continual canker upon the soul—a gangrene upon the mind. It poisons the streams of love—and embitters all the natural affections. When the slave beholds his spouse, it comes like an incubus across his breast. When he contemplates the countenance of infancy, and listens to its delightful prattle, before the soul has been shrivelled by the blighting scourge, the rising emotions of his heart are instantly choked by the recollection, that other than natural causes may produce their separation, and deprive the little innocents of the caresses which even a slave father and a slave mother may bestow upon them.—This is torture based upon torture, double refined. For, in this view of the subject, we must not overlook the fact, that the parents, in a state of slavery, if permitted to remain together with their children, are deprived of the privilege of instructing and teaching them, or aiding each other in mutual improvement. They cannot appropriate for their benefit the products of their own labor, the surplus of which, above the demands of a bare subsistence, necessary for its own continuance, and that doled out by the hand of a merciless overseer, is daily grasped by the rapacious master.—But, so great is the misery occasioned by the dread of family separation, that, in the comparison, the sufferings of this state of deprivation are entirely overlooked, and even considered desirable.

And that the deadening influence of this want of motive is no less operative in the destruction of moral than physical improvement, will be plain to every mind upon which the arguments advanced by a slave in the following colloquy shall fall with a tithe of the force with which my mind received them.

Among the slaves, whom we hired of their masters, was one named Loo, who tended the saw-mill, and whose master permitted him, at evening and on Sundays, to set fish traps in the river, and to sell, of the fish he might take, such as should be left after his master's wants were supplied. I ascertained that he brought ardent spirits into the mill, and took occasion to talk with him upon the impropriety of the habit of using it, and endeavored to impress his mind with the advantages of abstinence, by all the arguments at my command. He listened attentively, and replied—"Your advice is very good; but I am a poor negro slave, and my wife is a poor negro slave, and my children are poor negro slaves, and I have to work every day; and my wife has to go out every day to washing, and must bring home so much money every week for massa. If I give my children clothes, or any thing else, massa or his children can take them when they please, and I, poor negro slave, cannot have any thing which I can call my own, unless I use it up. I cannot read, and massa will not let me buy books for the children to learn. I catch fish, get some money, buy whiskey, drink it, and it makes me feel better; and that is the only way I can have the benefit of my money." If I urged length of life, it only suggested to him a longer term of suffering. If I appealed to the fear of death, he viewed it as a cessation from labor. Indeed, all appeals, whether addressed to the higher attributes of the soul, or to wants growing out of our earthly condition, were equally ineffectual. For, so strongly impressed is the human mind with the belief, that some benefit, even in this world, will follow from obedience to the commands of God, that it instinctively rejects as spurious those requirements which are followed by no advantage.

I never before found myself completely baffled in a temperance argument; but here I was struck dumb. I sighed, but could say no more. I shuddered at the impiety of a system, which could thus paralize the energies of a deathless mind. O Christianity! O Spirit of Liberty!—How long shall your sacred names be used to give permanency to this stumbling-block across the path of righteousness, in its progress to universal dominion.

I attended several meetings of the blacks in this place—for here, as in most of the cities and large towns, they have separate houses of worship. The exercises were conducted principally by the blacks, with occasional exhortations by a white man, whom they called a deacon, and who attended, as was observed to me, to preserve order. The worship of the blacks seemed to me to consist, principally, in exultation for the opportunity of meeting together, and in lauding their masters, and praying God to bless them, for their kindness and indulgence in granting them such privileges. In fact, the place which the Supreme Being ought to occupy in every intelligent mind, see ned almost filled by the usurpation of "massa," claiming flattery and adulation for permitting them to enjoy a privilege which God made the individual right of every human being. And these degraded fellow-beings are not sparing of such expressions as they think will tend to the continuance of these favors, by gratifying the vanity and self-importance of these little pseudo deities.

The exhortations of the white man present were generally such as would tend to strengthen the notion, that the enjoyment of the world to come will be the reward of faithfully serving their masters in this. The following exemplification of faith once took place in my hearing. The Deacon arose, and after some preliminary remarks, expatiating on the importance of faith, said he would tell them a story, to illustrate his meaning. He said he overheard one day a conversation betwen two negroes returning from meeting. Tom says to Jerry,—"Jerry, do minister preach all de time 'bout faith? What be faith?" "Why, faith, Tom, as I understand it," said Jerry, "be dis; Take hold, hold on, and neber let go." This, said the deacon, was the true reply. Yet how did the gold become dim, when this beautiful definition of the negro was used for no higher purpose than to induce the hearers to serve their masters, keep serving them, and never leave off; and how does the soul sicken when the rewards of heaven, which God has made dependent on his own free grace, in conjunction with benevolence of purpose and purity of life, are adverted to, to invigorate the slaves to perform their extorted services, and reconcile them to their masters' iniquitous exactions!

In view of this prostitution of the incentives to a religious life, I ask, What can a good man do? Truth, justice, and love reply, "Cry aloud against this abomination which maketh desolate the human mind, and spare it not!"

Slavery is a moral leprosy, and its continued cry at the approach of the gospel is, "Unclean, unclean!" The gospel cannot be preached to slaves. Tell them to "Visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction;" they have been despoiled of the fruits of their labor—they could not afford them any relief. Besides, their time even is claimed by another. Tell them to "Keep themselves unspotted from the world;" what mockery! in that state of society where a friend of mine, a mason by trade, stated to me, that, as he visited the plantations putting up chimnies and furnaces, it was no uncommon occurrence for a master or overseer to tell him, that he could have whatever wench he might choose from the quarters, to lodge with him! As my acquaintance was principally in large towns, instances of that kind came not within my own knowledge; but, from the character of the man, his manner of stating it, and from the prevalence of licentiousness, as I did observe it, fully believe its truth.

Indeed, the intercourse between white men and female slaves is all that could be anticipated where no loss of character is involved, and where not only all legal restraint is removed, but the slave is prohibited by law from resisting! To the white women even of the South this is a great annoyance. I have known mothers, yearning over their sons, procure them a residence at the North, to keep them out of the way of these corrupting influences. But, enough of this. Imagination must do the rest. And there is little fear that it will overdo the truth.

As a general rule, as far as my opportunities for observation enabled me to judge, the good or bad treatment of slaves is more the result of caprice and feeling, than of any settled course of action, based on definite and well understood convictions of obligation or duty. And this habitual substitution of feeling for reason,—the natural effect of the exercise of irresponsible power,—forms the basis of the connection between the far-famed hospitality of southerners, and the continual occurrence of challenges, duels, assassinations, lynchings and murders, among the same class of men.

As an instance of what might be considered exceptions to the above general rule, I will mention the case of Judge Van Hoose, one of the proprietors of the mill I was erecting, who lived in Fayette county, about forty miles from Tuscaloosa. He was one of the most benevolent, kind-hearted slaveholders I ever met. I rode with him about the country in quest of mill privileges, and staid a week at his house. That part of Fayette county in which he lived is a broken region, containing many parcels of good land, but no extensive tracts together. He said the reason of his selecting this place was, to avoid the inconvenience and want of society occasioned by large plantations, and to encourage the settlement of men of moderate capital, who would improve small tracts of land, and thus bring themselves within the compass of convenient neighborhood. He owned a plantation and kept a store. He employed no overseer or driver, but permitted the slaves to manage the estate themselves. They lived comfortably, and brought their master the surplus of the produce. Their immediate condition somewhat resembled that of a man who takes a farm on shares.

Mr. Van Hoose said he was opposed to slavery—did not think it right, and therefore permitted his slaves to have pretty much their own way. He said he would not sell a slave.

I one day took occasion to say to this man, who was always very free to converse on the evils of slavery, that notwithstanding the ground he took on the subject, which, in his own estimation, nearly exempted him from participation in its criminal character, I could not avoid the conviction, that he was contributing more effectual support to the vitality of the system, than any other person I ever knew. He asked me how it could possible be. I told him that he occupied the same position in relation to the abolition of slavery, that the moderate drinker of ardent spirits does to the cause of temperance. The moderate drinker, and not the drunkard, is always quoted to give countenance to the use of intoxicating liquors as a drink. And so the kind, and not the brutal slaveholder, is referred to with most success to palliate the enormity of dealing in human flesh. Besides, I told him, that in many instances he must sunder the tenderest ties, or give his entire sanction to the traffic in men. I instanced the case of a slave trader, who should make a temporary residence in the place, and whose slave should complete a matrimonial negotiation with one of his, and asked him what he would do in the case. He said, "I would purchase the slave from the trader, if I could." Then, said I, you would be the very man to whom he would refer to justify his business, always taking care to enumerate your good qualities, your Christian character, and your benevolence, to add weight to the sanction you would give to the system—and probably no man's influence would go farther to confirm him in his course, to stifle his convictions, and to nullify appeals to his conscience, than your own; for, he would be ever ready to reply, "that traffic cannot be very bad, in which the good, the pious, and benevolent Mr. Van Hoose is willing to participate." To this he replied, rather feelingly, "Well, I don't know what to do, I wish there was no such thing as slavery."

There lived, in a small house which I had built near the mill, a Mr. Fisher, a deacon formerly from Massachusetts, but who had resided many years in the South, and who was to take charge after I left. Having occasion for an additional blacksmith, Fisher proposed to him a slave. I asked him where he could board. "I'll keep him," he replied. "But how can you lodge him?" said I, knowing he had no room to spare. "Lodge him?" said he, gruffly, "we think no more of providing lodging here for a negro, than you at the North would for a dog, nor half so much."

On our journey home, we were accompanied several hundred miles by a negro trader from Wythe county, Va., who was just returning from the South, where he had been with a drove of sixty negroes, whom he bought in Virginia, and took out on a speculation. He occasionally narrated incidents in his business, and gave us a particular account of his last expedition. One circumstance he dwelt upon with peculiar pleasure. He had, some years before, bought a young mulatto girl, whom his wife had brought up to the age of about sixteen or seventeen years, when he took her out with the last drove, and he exclaimed, with great apparent gusto, "she brought me fifteen hundred dollars." This he seemed to think a great trade, as he gave for her only one hundred dollars, and her bringing up had cost him nothing, as she had more than paid her way. A fellow passenger said, "She was no doubt purchased for a wife or substitute." "Quite likely," replied he, with cool indifference, and without the least appearance of shame. He said, that in this last expedition, he made six thousand dollars, clear of all expense. He had been engaged collecting, travelling, and selling the negroes, about five months. This was just about the time I had been absent from hom. I was doing, as I thought, well; having three dollars a day and my expenses paid; but when I saw the disparity in our profits, I could readily discover the strong temptation presented to hard-hearted and unprincipled men, to engage in this nefarious traffic. This man exhibited much timidity and fear for his personal safety. He appeared in a state of continual apprehension; and was much excited by hearing of the murder of an acquaintance of his, who was engaged in the same business, and during a thunder storm he evinced much terror.

Negro trading is generally considered a dangerous business, as those engaged in it are supposed to have large sums of money with them; negroes being bought for cash and that only. And after a man is once known as a trader, he thinks himself peculiarly exposed to the assaults of robbers.

I made another trip, on the same business, in 1835, to Darien, Ga. and erected a mill on Dobay island, about six miles below the town. I do not know that any thing occurred there that would interest the reader, or bring to view any new feature of slavery. Its workings are uniform; and an inductive mind can as well infer them from the premises—the right of property in man—as they can be described from actual observation. I did not witness many scenes of extreme cruelty, and have related but few of what I saw, for I consider them as incidented to the system, rather than forming component parts of it; and I am satisfied sympathy for their personal sufferings, and consequent efforts to meliorate their physical condition, however well intended, often operate as a drawback upon the power which ought to be applied to the root of the evil—to the extinction of the chattel principle; and if I mistake not, the most sagacious slaveholders, if called on to point out the most effective measures, in the present state of things, to give perpetuity to the system, would almost unanimously reply:—Mitigate their treatment.

Should any wish to know how the business I was engaged in, succeeded, I will state, that it failed in every instance, as I am convinced that every mechanical or manufacturing business, established by slaveholders and worked by slaves, ever must. Add to the proprietors, the slaveholder's idleness and prodigality; and to the laborers, the slave's despair, and every manufactory in New England will become extinct. Agriculture even cannot be profitably carried on by slave labor, except on the most productive soils; the consequence of which is, a continual transfer of slaves from the more barren to richer tracts of country, evidently evincing the intention of God to make them, eventually, by whatever means emancipation may be achieved, the proprietors of the very best portions of land on the American continent.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Anti-Slavery Convention at Palmyra.

A general Convention of the friends of the slave in Western New-York assembled, agreeably to previous appointment, in the Presbyterian Church in Palmyra, Wayne county, on Tuesday, February 2d, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Organized by appointing Elder JOHN SEARS, President *pro tem*, and Rev. ISAAC C. GOFF, Secretary *pro tem*.

Prayer by Rev. Isaac C. Goff.

Pliny Sexton, J. C. Hathaway, Isaac Post, Vaniah Yeomans, and P. D. Hathaway, were appointed to nominate officers for the Convention.

P. D. Hathaway, W. C Rogers, and Lewis Burtis were appointed to prepare rules, and regulations for the government of this Convention.

W. C. Rogers, John Mandeville, and Lorenzo Hathaway, were appointed to make out a Roll of the Convention.

[The number of delegates in attendance was more than three hundred. We however omit the roll.]

B. Fish, J. C. Jackson, L. Reeves, E. Hathaway, J. C. Hathaway, W. Chase, and A. Post, were appointed to prepare business to come before the Convention.

The committee on rules submitted the following report, which was accepted and adopted.

Morning session to commence at 9 o'clock, and adjourn at 12. Afternoon sessions to commence at half past one, and adjourn at 5 o'clock. Evening sessions to commence at half past 6.

Each session may be opened by a season of silence, or by vocal prayer.

No person shall speak more than twenty minutes at a time, nor more than twice on the same subject, without leave of the house.

In other respects to be governed by parliamentary usages.

Afternoon Session, Feb. 2d.

"Season of silence." The committee on nominations made the following report, which was adopted.

Elder JOHN SEARS, *President.*

Wm. T. Codding, Luther Reeves, Rev. Octavius Mason, Willard Chase, Vaniah Yeomans, } *Vice Presidents.*

Rev. Isaac C. Goff, J. R. Cummings, P. D. Hathaway, } *Secretaries.*

The committee on business reported resolutions, No. 1 to 5, inclusive.

Received an interesting letter from our friend and brother, James C. Fuller, containing extracts from a letter addressed to him by Elizabeth Pease, of Darlington, England, relative to certain charges preferred before the British public against Wm. Lloyd Garrison and John A. Collins, by Elder Nathaniel Colver, of Boston, calculated to impair the confidence of that public in the abolition integrity of those brethren. The letter also contained resolutions relative to this subject, which our brother Fuller wished to have submitted to the Convention for its action. The whole subject was referred to the business committee, who subsequently reported on the matter; and resolutions, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22, were *unanimously* adopted by the Convention, as expressive of its views in the case.

1. Resolved, That American slavery is a sin against God, under all circumstances, and should be immediately abolished.

2. Resolved, That "the great end at which we aim is, to subvert the relation of master and slave,—not by machinery, political or ecclesiastical, but by establishing in the hearts of men a deep and wide-spreading conviction of the brotherhood of the human race."

3. Resolved, That to secure correct legislative action on any subject, it is necessary only to correct the public sentiment of the land, upon which legislative action in this country is founded.

The foregoing Resolutions were separately discussed by J. C. Jackson, M. D. Codding, J. C. Hathaway, C. Southwick, J. W. Smith, and O. Mason, and unanimously adopted.

4. Resolved, That it is not the legitimate business of abolitionists to war against the existence of any organization, as such, either civil, political or ecclesiastical, but to impress upon all men the duty of carrying out the principles of freedom in the various relations which they may sustain. Supported by O. Mason and J. C. Hathaway, and adopted unanimously.

5. Resolved, That "keeping clear of the false or uncertain lights of political leaders," we should "follow the pole-star of our holy principles, and do all that christians and freemen can, for those whose oppression has been the sin of our fathers, and is our sin and shame from one end of the land to the other."

Discussed by J. C. Jackson, Isaac C. Goff, C. Southwick, J. Mandeville, Jr. J. W. Smith, T. M'Clintock, M. D. Codding, and carried without a dissenting voice.

Evening Session, Feb. 2.

Season of silence.

6. Resolved, That the law of this State which allows one man to hold another as property within our jurisdiction for the term of *nine months* at a time, is "incongruous with all our institutions," being a virtual recognition of the rightfulness of slavery, and ought therefore to be immediately repealed.

Discussed by E. Southwick and others, and adopted.

Octavius Mason was appointed to prepare a petition to the Legislature on this subject for the adoption of this Convention, and to be signed by the officers thereof in their official capacity.

The following was subsequently reported and adopted, and ordered to be signed and forwarded:

To the Hon. the Legislature of New-York.

Whereas, a law now exists in this State, by which men may be held as slaves for the term of *nine months* at a time; and whereas, we your constituents, the friends of *liberty* and *human rights*, in Convention assembled, deem such a law a recognition of the rightfulness of the *odious* system of slavery and incongruous with all the principles of our free institutions, respectfully and earnestly ask for its immediate repeal.

7. Resolved, That it is the duty of church members to "urge upon the church such decided action as will leave no room to doubt but that she is on the side of Christ and his poor"—to "stand up fearlessly in all places, and under all circumstances, and reprove and rebuke those who palliate the crime of slaveholding."

This resolution called forth many interesting remarks from O. Mason, T. M'Clintock, J. Mandeville, Jr., and many others.

On motion, the thanks of the Convention were tendered to the trustees of the Presbyterian Church for the use of the house.

Then adjourned to meet in the Methodist Chapel tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

Wednesday Morning, Feb. 3.

Prayer by Rev. O. Mason.

After some further discussion, the 7th resolution was passed.

8. Resolved, That as the National Anti-Slavery Standard advocates the cause on its *original* foundation, it deserves the support of every *constitutional* abolitionist, and that we now proceed to take subscriptions in its behalf.

Forty-one additional subscribers were obtained on the spot, a large portion of the Convention having previously subscribed for it.

9. Resolved, That we do not, and will not, treat irreverently the sacred office of the ministry, but that our attack has been, and is, on the pro-slavery principles of its incumbents.

Supported by Reverend Jonas Dodge and others, and adopted.

Afternoon Session, February 3d.

10. Resolved, That we approve of the formation of the "Western New-York Anti-Slavery Board," and recognize in its members some of the *earliest* and *most devoted* friends of human rights, who are entitled to the confidence and co-operation of the lovers of liberty.

11. Resolved, That the progress of the cause of freedom depends, under God, on the liberality, energy and perseverance of its friends; and that this Convention now proceed to take contributions and pledges in its behalf.

The resolution was advocated in the following manner:

Cash received on the spot—from

Durfee Osband,	$5	Stephen Durfee,	$5
Thomas M'Clintock,	5	Thomas A. Slocum,	5
Amos R. Cole,	5	James Harland,	5
Elias Durfee,	5	Edmund P. Willets	5
Shadrach Jenkins,	13	Hannah Ramsdell,	1
Geo. S. Carpenter,	5	Hannah Sexton,	5
C. M. Smith,	1	Sarah A. Burtis,	1
Thos. M'Michael,	1	Hiram Foster,	5
John Lapham,	10	P. S Seymour,	2
Richmond Hathaway,	5	Durfee Herendeen,	10
Isaac Hathaway,	5	Sarah Cox,	50
Delia Bigelow,	1	Esther Hathaway,	1
Randolph Mount,	5	Stephen Shears,	5
G. W. P. (cash obtained by his vocation.)			40
Cash from sundry persons, many of whom were the "*young warriors*" in the gallery,			45 90
Total amount of cash received,			$149 93

Sundries received on the spot—from

G. Pryor, 61 pounds of bar-soap, (No. 1,) worth	$3 66
William Dell, 1 box garden seeds, worth	8
John Young, one pig, worth	2 50
A friend, one gold ring, worth	4
	$18 16

Pledges.

J. C. Hathaway,	$32 50	Pliny Sexton,	$40
Isaac Post,	10	Susan Fish,	5
P. D. Hathaway,	5	Margaret Maccumber,	1
Lydia T. Gurney,	1	Maria Durfee,	50
G. W. Pryor,	7 50	Daniel Cole,	50
Amy Post,	5	Harvey Wygant,	2 50
Total amount of pledges,			$110 50
Total amount of cash, pledges, soap, garden seeds, pig, and gold ring,			$278 59

12. Resolved, That we recommend to abolitionists to abstain from the products of slave labor, as it will furnish a powerful example in favor of our honesty and sincerity, as such.

This resolution called forth many interesting remarks from Lewis Burtis, S. Fish, and others.

13. Resolved, That the bold stand taken by Governor Seward, in reference to the demand made upon him by the Executive of Virginia, for the surrender of three citizens of this State as fugitives from justice, is in strict accordance with truth and equity; and that for the zeal and ability with which he has defended his position, he is entitled to the warm thanks of every lover of correct principles who desires the final triumph of *universal liberty*.

Supported by J. C. Hathaway, J. C. Jackson, and J. W. Smith. The resolution was adopted with only *one* dissenting voice, and the Secretaries were directed to transmit a copy thereof to the Governor.

14. Resolved, That we believe much good would result from holding a National Anti-Slavery Convention, as suggested by the Chairman of the "Western New-York Anti-Slavery Board," by direction of the Le-Roy Convention and we therefore heartily approve of calling such a Convention.

15. Resolved, That in our opinion the doctrine laid down by the Governor of this State, in his late annual message, relative "to an unfortunate race, which, having been plunged by us into degradation and ignorance, has been excluded from the franchise by an arbitrary property qualification, incongruous with all our institutions," is in strict accordance with the great doctrine of human rights.

16. Resolved, That in our efforts for the emancipation of the slave, it is not our intention to infringe on the rights of the master, but to hold sacred the *rights* of *all men*, and while our warmest sympathies are called forth in behalf of the *bondman*, we are not unmindful of the condition of his oppressor.

17. Resolved, That under a government like ours, there is great danger of placing more reliance upon the efficacy of legislation than upon the exercise of the promptings of Christianity,—an error detrimental to our cause, and which we deeply regret to see embraced by some who formerly repudiated it.

Evening Session, February 3.

Prayer by Rev. J. Mandeville, jr.

18. Resolved, That we recognize no sectarian views as necessary to a full and free membership in an anti-slavery association, and that all who believe in the sinfulness of slavery, and the duty of immediate emancipation, we welcome to our ranks, and give them the right hand of fellowship.

19. Resolved, That whatever may be the difference of opinion between William Lloyd Garrison and ourselves upon questions not legitimate to the anti-slavery enterprise, we think none the less of him as an abolitionist, and tender him our sympathy as one who has labored long and *faithfully* in the cause, and consider him fully worthy of confidence.

20. Resolved, That whatever may be William Lloyd Garrison's private opinions, or peculiar theology, it is not competent for American or British abolitionists to arraign him therefor, and attempt to ruin his abolition character on account of those views.

21. Resolved, That we feel the fullest assurance, that the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society would depute no man to represent it in England who is unworthy the confidence of British abolitionists.

These resolutions were separately considered, and ably sustained, by Elder John Sears, Rev. O. Mason, Rev. J. Mandeville, jr., Rev. J. C. Goff, and others, and passed without a dissenting voice; and the secretaries were directed to forward a copy of them for publication in the "British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter," the London "Patriot," "Liberator," "Herald of Freedom," "National Anti-Slavery Standard," "Pennsylvania Freeman," and the "Emancipator."

22. Resolved, That we tender our warmest thanks to the citizens of Palmyra and vicinity for their kindness and hospitality; also to the proprietors of this house for its use.

After a solemn and soul-melting prayer by our worthy and esteemed President, in which every heart seemed to unite, the Convention adjourned to meet at NORTHVILLE, in Cayuga County, on Wednesday the 24th inst, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

JOHN SEARS, *President.*

J. C. Goff, J. R. Cummings, P. D. Hathaway, } *Secretaries.*

The Third Party.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard:

CONCORD, Mass., Feb. 6, 1841.

DEAR SIR:—I observed in my last Standard the address of the Le Roy Convention. In that address, speaking of the proposition to form a third political anti-slavery party, it is observed, that it "has met its *fate* in the fiat of rejection which has been measured out by *ninety-five hundreths* of the voting abolitionists of the whole country." This would leave for the third party five hundreths, or one twentieth of the whole number of *voting abolitionists*. There were 7000 votes for the third party. Allowing the position or statement of the Le Roy address to be true, there are 140,000 abolition voters. There were not in the whole United States more than 500 votes for the *scattering* ticket. This number subtracted from 140,000 leaves us 139,500. I presume *you* will allow, that not one-fourth of this number *staid at home*, or refrained from voting at all. Then one hundred and four thousand, six hundred and twenty-five *abolitionists* voted for *somebody*, and I would respectfully say, that I think reason brings us to the conclusion, that they *did* vote for those *tracklers to American Despotism*, and *slaveholders*, Van Buren, Harrison, Johnson and Tyler. I need not comment on *such* abolitionism. I am, in all kindness, yours, a subscriber, and a friend to Independent Nominations,

GEO. W. SIMONDS.

Woman's Wit.

MR. EDITOR:—The following paragraph met my eye in the Massachusetts Abolitionist.

WOMAN'S WIT—THE TRUE DOCTRINE.—"Amesbury, Jan. 5. ——— says she is tired of being sent by 'the brethren' after signers to A. S. petitions, through storm and cold, when these very brethren vote to send men to Congress, who will throw her petition under the table.

W."

Now I venture to guess that "W." in this instance stands for Whittier. That, however, is of little consequence. But I should like to ask this woman, who, it seems, is "tired of being sent by 'the brethren' after signers to petitions, through storm and cold," because "these very brethren vote to send men to Congress who will throw her petition under the table," what she has to say to those male abolitionists who do what is infinitely worse than that, viz: vote to exclude her, and all her sisters, from our common platform, and then secede because they cannot effect their purpose! Perhaps her "wit" would enable her to give us the "true doctrine" in respect to such abolitionists.

X. Y. Z.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1841.

The Standard.

We hope its list is *crescent*, instead of waning. We really think when we unfurl it at the post office, that it is the *superbest* sheet there is afloat. The paper, the type, the selections, that *impudent* motto, the graceful vignette, Christianity (as we take it) teaching Liberty—the first good school mistress Liberty ever had—a *mistress*, too,—not a master. Quere—Is not this a "sifting in of the woman question," to "*thrust*" those *two women* "forward"? See how *naturally* they tread the chains and whip-lashes under foot! And then Isaac T. Hopper's "Tales of Oppression," how trimly and neatly they are told. They display all that philanthropy could do in its John Baptist days, before the coming of the day-star of *Immediate Abolition*. It was the Good Samaritanism of "the dark ages" of the Republic. How fares the subscription list of the National Standard! Is our extravagance alarming our timid friends? Alas! the friends of Reform are always timid. Their heads grow giddy as they mount towards the eminences of Liberty, and they are thrown into a panic at every alarm cry of the servile enemy below. But grant that we are at times extravagant, and prone to stray to the very verge of the untenable and the impracticable—what then? We are groping for liberty, and every bona fide *effort* gains something. We are doing constantly something better than to budge in the old beaten ways of bondage. We attack nothing but slavery, and we have to assail it in its northern disguises. If we mistake in our assaults, and now and then bestow an anti-slavery blow where it is unwarranted, or less needed than elsewhere, Liberty will pardon it, and Slavery has no right to complain. We want an unshackled press—a daring press—an adventurous press. Caution, circumspection, conservatism, we do not want. Our course is *plane*, as well as *plain*. There is no danger of mistakes. Every position of the country is false, as to our enterprise, and almost every thing must be attacked. The country is pro-slavery, in mass and in detail, and needs an universal bombarding. The enemy lies in every direction. Scarcely can an arrow be shot, if it is not aimed *perpendicularly*, but it will take effect; and when you hear an outcry after your discharge, it is a wounded enemy that shrieks. Your press should be an Ishmaelite. "Against" what "man" in the land, out of the anti slavery ranks, should not "its hand be?" Who is there among us, but the abolitionists, that is not on the side of slavery? Slaveholders all—are they. It takes them all to hold *up* our slave system, and hold *down* our 3,000,000 bondmen. They must all be annoyed till they are revolutionized, that the slave may go free. What press, but the anti-slavery press, in this great republican Babylon, recognizes Human Rights—from the American and Foreign Reporter, to the periodical of that moral monster of the Herald, who sits there on his editorial stool, grimacing at religion, and making mouths at humanity! Bennett can't endure anti-slavery. It would dispense altogether with his existence. Let man come by his liberty, and Bennett's "occupation would be gone." His post in the human family would be a *sine cure*. There would be nobody left to laugh at his impious jestings, or to patronize his "malicious mockery" of truth and right. He would be *functus officio*. And what would his brother of the New-York Observer do for a living? His labors would not sell for a brass pin. Nobody would want hairs divided, to make cushions for sectarism to lounge upon, or to try the *ultimatum* of the divisibility of matter. In a world of Christianity, Joseph Tracy would not find place for the sole of his foot, or a point of observation whereon to rest his microscopic eye. And where would you place the solemn "Evangelist"—at what rope in the ship!—At none. He could not handle any of them. He would mourn himself to death over departed sect. He would die of grief over "dead and gone" denomination. Friend Leavitt would perish for lack of exercise, if there were no litigation, no politics, no penalties, or "reprisals." If woman should mingle her clear treble in the chorus of humanity with man's bass, or moral power usurp the prerogative of politics, he would "new organize" creation before he would tolerate it. And friend Tappan of the Reporter, after braving the terrors of the haughty Presbytery, secedes "from his propriety" at the sight of a committee-woman. There are ten thousand varieties of pro-slavery. The Emancipator would purchase abolition, if it could set its own price. But it wont give a cent more, if it never makes the bargain. It wont hazard a suspension of politics for all the slaves in the world. It goes for an anti-slavery at the point of the steel. Not the soldier's bayonet point, outright, and in so many words—but the lightning point and razor edge of the sword of the "minister of God to *thee* for good." He would have the fetter cut asunder, as Alexander *untied* the knot. He fancies no result but a legislative one, *enforced* by the *posse comitatus*, if not by the standing army. How proudly indignant at thought of a moral catastrophe, wrought out by the compound, peaceful agency of man, woman and child,—man degraded by the association,—woman incompetent to legislation, and children inadmissible to the ballot-box! He would scorn it as Naaman the Syrian did that dipping in Jordan. He can't work with woman—can he?—or did he not new organize because of *her*?

Is it *wild* to rank our friends of the Emancipator and the Reporter above the Herald in the pro-slavery class? Which of the two is most dangerously at war with the only policy that can achieve our enterprise? Which of them could have detached a body from the anti-slavery phalanx, and made them fire into the camp they had deserted? Could Bennett of the Herald? Never. The others have done it. They have been able to do this at 131 Nassau street. They could not have done it from any where, not *under the anti-slavery sign*.

The Standard must unfurl universal defiance and aggression against every thing hostile to anti-slavery, and every thing that will not and cannot bid anti-slavery God speed. And it must war for liberty as one that hath no sect or party to hamper its ultra adventure. But it will war with no weapon but the truth, and it has no philosophy but the simple doctrines of the gospel. Shall it fail because it is not a humorer of prejudices—a pamperer of self-complacency and preconceived opinion? It would be hard to

[A Slave's Idea of the Church.

In the deeply interesting narrative on our first page will be found an anecdote, which illustrates the idea of a sensible slave respecting the Church, and which is worthy to be engraved on marble, and imprinted in the memory of every abolitionist. We will repeat it here.

Our correspondent inquired of a slave, named Billy, respecting his master, and whether he was a professor of religion. Billy replied, "He was formerly a Baptist, but afterwards he left the Baptists and joined the Methodists, and when the Methodists divided, he went with the radicals;" and, after a short pause, he added, "and he ought to join one Church more." Ah, said our correspondent, what do you mean by that, Billy? He replied, "*He ought to join Christ's Church*, AND LET HIS SLAVES GO FREE."

Is not this answer of an unlettered slave as sublime as it is beautiful and appropriate? It embodies a startling truth, also, from which it would be well for our northern teachers in theology to take a lesson. Hereafter let us tell the slaveholder to "*join Christ's Church, and let his slaves go free!*" Noble sentiment! It is worth more than all that has been preached in the northern pro-slavery pulpit for the last five years. Let the occupants of that pulpit stand rebuked by it.

Massachusetts and Vermont.

The assistant editor must plead indisposition (from which he is now recovered) as an apology for neglecting many things which deserved prompt attention; and among them were the late annual meetings of the Massachusetts and Vermont Anti-Slavery Societies. As most of our readers have doubtless been informed of the interesting proceedings of these meetings through other channels, our notice of them at this late hour will be brief.

The Massachusetts anniversary was held on the 27th and 28th ultimo, and was an occasion of deep interest. Nearly four hundred persons enrolled their names as members.—The Annual Report was devoted mainly to a defence of the Society against the slanders of its enemies. The meeting at the State House on the evening of the 27th has never been exceeded in interest by any similar gathering at the same place.

The Vermont meeting, also, was of a high character for intelligence and steadfast adherence to the cause. The presence of C. C. Burleigh added much to the interest of the occasion.

If we can spare room, we intend to publish some of the resolutions adopted at these meetings in our next. The extreme length of the article commencing on the first page has compelled us to omit them this week.

Letter from Mrs. Wilson.

We take the earliest opportunity to lay before our readers the following letter from the wife of Hiram Wilson, which relates, it will be perceived, to the statements of Mr. Gallego, in the Standard of the 28th ult. We could wish it had been of a more definite character, but we do not deem it best, in the present state of the controversy, to say more.

TORONTO, U. C. Feb. 6th, 1841.

DEAR BROTHER ROGERS:—In taking up the "Standard" of the 28th ult. I observed an article headed, "*The Canada Mission*," and signed "PETER GALLEGO, U. C." also an editorial remark, wishing for information as to the real condition of the thousands who have fled from "American oppression," and found an asylum in this land of equal laws and liberty.

My husband is now on a tour through the Western District, and will not return for some weeks. I therefore take the liberty to assure you, that as soon as practicable, the real condition of the "refugees in U. C.," shall be spread out before the public.

Friend Fuller can, and no doubt will, speak for himself. He has been on a tour through the greater part of the Province, and is prepared to speak from actual observation.

Let our friends keep calm, and not become excited, and wish that they had kept their money, nor say that it is the last that they will give. As great a "HUMBUG as is the *Canada Mission*," it is nothing in comparison to what it will be.—The Lord of Hosts is for us, who can be against us?

Pray for us, who are engaged in this great work, that we may have *patience*, under all the trials and privations which fall to our happy lot.

For the truth as it is in Jesus,

HANNAH M. WILSON.

The Fruits of Slavery.

The long article commencing on the first page will well repay an attentive perusal. The writer evinces no small amount of sterling good sense, as well as a keen insight into the workings of human nature. As the production of a northern mechanic, as well as on account of the valuable information it contains, the article deserves a wide circulation. Nothing but a want of funds prevents the Executive Committee from publishing it in pamphlet form. We commend it to the attention of all our readers, believing that if they commence, they will not fail to complete the perusal of it.

Important Correspondence.

IN PRESS, and will be published in a few days, a pamphlet, entitled, "Correspondence between Oliver Johnson, and George F. White, a minister of the Society of Friends; with an appendix." The appendix will contain a reply to a charge of "blasphemy" brought against the abolitionists by George F. White. The price will be named next week.

CORRECTION.—Timothy Darling, of Griffin's Mills, wishes us to state, that in the proceedings of the Le Roy Convention, as published in the Standard, his name was erroneously placed among the *nays* on the question of striking out that part of the address relating to the third party. He voted in the affirmative.

NOTICES.

Anti-Slavery Convention for Eastern Connecticut.

The Executive Committee of the Windham County Anti-Slavery Society on mature deliberation and consultation with other true friends of the cause, have resolved to invite the Abolitionists of that part of the State lying east of Connecticut River, without distinction of sect, party or sex, to assemble in convention at Willimantic, on the third and fourth of March next, for mutual interchange of opinions relative to the aspect of the Anti-slavery cause, and the measures necessary for its advancement at the present crisis. The undersigned have been appointed to prepare and issue, in behalf the Committee, a call for this purpose.

To all the true friends of our enterprise, then, within the above prescribed limits, we send the invitation, earnestly requesting them to come up to our solemn gathering, with minds intent on the great work before us, and hearts resolved for its prosecution by such means as their united wisdom may suggest. We need not particularly allude, brethren and sisters, to the peculiar circumstances which render this a time of trial to our principles, and, but that it is founded on the immovable rock of Truth and Right—of peril to our cause. We need not enumerate the particular obstacles which the current of events has within the past year or two cast upon our path, nor urge on you the importance of putting forth well devised and vigorous efforts for their removal. With these circumstances you are familiar—of the urgency of the demand for prudent and energetic action you cannot be insensible. Come up, then, one and all—leaving awhile the various employments in which your well-remunerated toil is providing you with the comforts and conveniences of life, to devote a brief portion of your time to the forming of such plans as, faithfully executed, shall give remuneration to the now unpaid laborer, and life's comforts and conveniences to the millions now destitute of them. Come up and give us the benefit of your counsels, your words of cheer, your pledges of active exertion. Let us have a full expression of the Abolitionism of eastern Connecticut, on all the great questions affecting the welfare of our cause, which are now thrown before us. Let no light occasions deter any one from attending to the Convention, attending early, and attending to the end. Never has our enterprise more loudly demanded of us, enlightened zeal, activity and self-denying devotion to its interests than at the present moment. Fail not, we entreat you, fail not to prove yourselves equal to the emergency. Show to those enemies who are ready to exult in the anticipated downfall of our cause, that your courage is not diminished, your zeal slackened, your love for truth and humanity grown cold, nor the resolution abated, with which, in times past, you have pressed on towards the glorious consummation which lies yet before us. Cheer the hearts of your coadjutors elsewhere, by the example you set of perseverance fidelity and warmth of interest in the common enterprise. Strengthen each other by mutual aid and counsel, and the tokens you exhibit of unwavering confidence in each other, in the holy principles you have embraced, and in their ultimate triumph over oppression, violence and wrong in all our borders. "Once more up to the breach dear friends—*once more*," and bear the banner of freedom yet farther within the hostile entrenchments; for advance or retreat must be the order of the day. We cannot stand still. In the name of the bleeding captive then, sighing for deliverance; in the name of all the innocent blood which from our South-land is crying to Jehovah for vengeance on the guilty nation; in the name of our country beset with peril, darkened by the tempest-clouds of righteous retribution which hang heavy and black above us, ready to burst in a hail storm of wrath and dash its glory to the dust; in the name of humanity outraged, and justice trampled down, and the law of God contemned and violated; in the name of all that can move the heart of the patriot, the Christian and the man; we call on you to come up and renewing your self-consecration to this noble enterprise, take hence with fresh strength and increasing courage and new-awakened zeal, another onward impulse whose power shall not cease to be felt while a chain remains unbroken, or a badge of oppression unconsumed within our land.

The meeting will commence on the third of next March, at ten o'clock in the morning.

GEORGE W. BENSON,
PHILIP PEARL.

Remember the Slave.

A general Anti-Slavery Convention for Western New-York will be held at NORTHVILLE, Cayuga County, on the 24th and 25th instant, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

We then and there hope to meet all who love LIBERTY and hate SLAVERY, and who believe it right to make the *political* subservient to the *moral* bearings of the cause.

Let us not forget that there is at work in our country a system which is antagonistical to social, civil and religious liberty, and that it lives and breathes only at the expense of HUMAN RIGHTS.

The battle is *in* and will be decided. On which side will you rally? Under the pure and peaceful banner of TRUTH and FREEDOM, or the dark and blood-stained banner of TYRANNY and OPPRESSION?

In behalf of the Western New-York Anti-Slavery Board,

J. C. HATHAWAY, *Chairman.*

Farmington, 2d mo. 4, 1841.

LECTURE IN CLINTON HALL BY JAMES McCUNE SMITH, M. D.

A Lecture on the Haytien Revolution, with a sketch of the life and character of Toussaint L'Ouverture, will be delivered by James McCune Smith, M. D, at Clinton Hall, on second day (Monday) evening, the 22d instant, at half past 7 o'clock.

The proceeds of the lecture will be appropriated to the Colored Orphan Asylum.

Tickets, 50 cents, to be had at the door, or at this office. Feb. 11, 1841.

NATIONAL TEMPERANCE CONVENTION OF YOUNG MEN.

The Executive Committee of the American Young Men's Total Abstinence Society, have designated *Tuesday, the 11th day of May next*, as the time for commencing the sittings of the Convention in the city of New-York.

The object of this Convention will be to consider the responsibilities of young men, in regard to the great evil of intemperance, and adopt measures which in their wisdom shall be deemed best calculated to meet these responsibilities.

It is hoped that every section of the United States, the Canadas, and many foreign associations will be represented in the Convention.

Let total abstinence societies be formed where there are none, and send in their delegates.

In behalf of the Executive Committee.

HIRAM BARNEY, Chairman.

N. B.—Public journals friendly to the cause of temperance, are requested to notice the above call.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

LEGISLATIVE.

CONGRESS.

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Feb. 4th.

Mr. John Quincy Adams having obtained the floor, made a most extraordinary harangue. He was listened to with much interest, and it would seem that his remarks will bring upon him much censure from some quarters. I did not hear the first part of his speech, but I am told that his object, from the beginning, was to give his reasons why he should not support Mr. Henry A. Wise as a leader of the House of Representatives under General Harrison's administration. It was a queer subject, and it was treated in a manner equally remarkable.

In the first place, as I am told, he protested against the discussion of this and that question here, Tariff, bank, &c. —in advance of the recommendation of the President. He read from the Constitution that clause which provides that 'the President shall, from time to time, recommend such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.' Until this was done, it was idle, in his opinion, for the House to debate questions of policy not brought before them for their action.

He referred to Mr. Wise's remarks as dictatorial to the new President and to the House, and strongly expressed his dissent from his views. That member assumed to be a supporter of General Harrison, and to state what his policy ought to be. He disagreed entirely from him as to the course of policy that General Harrison would pursue and ought to pursue.

In the course of Mr. A's remarks, he adverted to some prominent principles advanced in the House by Mr. Wise, and expressed his dissent from them. One was *duelling*; another was *slave-overseeing*; and the third nullification.

Mr. Adams sent to the chair a newspaper with the remarks of Mr. Wise on the controversy between Cost Johnson and Duncan, wherein Mr. Wise says, 'there will be no *fight*.' Mr. Adams commented on this, and represented Mr. Wise as lamenting that the duel law had been passed, and that there would be no fighting.

Mr. Wise and Mr. Johnson both interrupted Mr. Adams, and called him to order. Mr. Adams was sustained by the chair, and went on. With the leave, he said in the most scornful manner, of the House and the professed duellists, he would proceed, in his remarks. He did proceed, and in a manner that defies description. The outpourings of sarcasm on the individuals whom he wished to reach, was as copious as it was bitter. The manner of the speaker, as well as his venomous and stinging words, told, through every sentence, as he went along.

He was resolved, he said, to bring to the notice of the committee and of the country the subject of duelling, at all hazards, and he would not be put down nor dictated to, by the duellists. He insisted that some Southern men were in the habit of brow-beating the Northern men, because they, the Southern men, were supported by their constituents in the practice of duelling, while the Northern men were not. He said this was a matter for the House and for the country to look at—it concerned the independence of the Northern members, and the freedom of speech on that floor. If the Southern men were permitted to menace us with the pistol, whenever we dissented from them, there was an end to free deliberation in this Hall. It must be decreed by public sentiment, as well as by law, that duelling here should not be tolerated. He said, he hoped to see no more duel murders in this nation. I cannot, said he, shoot a man through the heart, and then shed tears over his fate. The constituents of the gentleman applauded his duelling, and required it of him, as the gentleman had stated in a public letter. But his (Mr. Adams') constituents would not justify him in fighting a duel.

Mr. Wise several times explained, in the course of this attack, with great force. As to the last idea, he explained that his constituents were opposed to duelling, and that they had often begged him to avoid it. When he fought, it was against their wish, and he might add, his own.

Mr. Adams also attacked Mr. Wise as to his course on abolition petitions, and dwelt with great emphasis on it.—His remarks were stronger on this point—the suppression of petitions—than I ever heard from him.

Finally he came to what he considered Mr. Wise's nullification, and exulted in the fact that he had sustained the Administration in its course on that subject.

Mr. Adams declared that he would not support such principles. Mr. Wise, he said, had raised a *tri-colored standard*, and called on the House to follow him; one color was black, the emblem of slavery; another was red, the color of murder; and the third was of a pale, sickly, and death-like hue, representing nullification. This standard he (Mr. Adams) would not follow.

But it would be idle for me to attempt even to allude to Mr. A.'s points. The speech surpasses anything that the imagination can form, not only in regard to personal invective, but to originality of views on public questions.

When Mr. Adams had done, Mr. Wise rose and made a reply, remarkable for its moderation and dignity. He confessed that at first he was irritated, by the gentleman's remarks. Had any young and vigorous man made so heartless, venomous, malicious, and slanderous an attack on him, he would never have replied to him *here*. But this attack came from a man venerable for his age, his rank and his history. The veneration which he, Mr. Wise, had for Mr. Adams's father, for his own public services, and for the renowned State that gave him birth, would restrain him from taking any notice of this wanton assault. The gentleman might be gratified by it, but his friends there were deeply wounded. One intimation he would repel—viz.—that he (Mr. Wise) would insult Mr. Adams or any man because he was not a duellist. I insult *him*? Sir, I would strike down any arm that dared it. The gentleman has obtained a victory, and I hope may enjoy it. I leave him possession of the field.—But, at this moment, I am a happier man than he is!

Loud applause followed Mr. Wise's remarks. The Chairman (Mr. Casey) promptly interfered to preserve order.

Mr. Wise sat down, and some dozen of members rushed to his seat, and congratulated him warmly on what had passed. Certainly, Mr. Wise, deserves great credit for the general moderation of his course, during the last two sessions.

TUESDAY, Feb. 9.

In the Senate the bankrupt law came up for consideration, and was debated by Walker, Henderson, Calhoun, Clay, and Lewis. No question was taken.

In the House of Representatives, the pension appropriation bill was again taken up in committee of the whole, (Mr. Clifford in the chair.)

Mr. Cooper of Georgia, continued his speech, begun yesterday, on the subject of *negro stealing*, as started by Mr. Giddings of Ohio.

The question pending was on a motion of Mr. Thompson, of S. C. to amend the bill so as to include an appropriation of $100,000 to fulfil certain promises made to the Seminoles, by Gen. Armistead.

Mr. Giddings had asserted and proved, as he said, by public documents, that the Florida war was chiefly kept up by the Georgians, who were always on the watch to steal Florida negroes.

Mr Cooper, in the course of his reply, had said that citizens of Maine had stolen negroes from Georgia.

Mr. Evans, denying this, declared that persons calling themselves citizens of Georgia, had kidnapped negroes in Maine.

This gave rise to some long and unimportant explanations to-day. Mr. Evans insisted that no citizen of Maine had been guilty of stealing negroes from Georgia—there were no facts to prove it, and no one acquainted with the circumstances believed it.

Mr. Cooper also charged that citizens of Ohio had stolen negroes belonging to Kentucky, not for the purpose of emancipating them, but to get a reward from their masters for their restoration.

Mr. Cooper made many remarks, as did Mr. Giddings, yesterday, similar to the old abolition debates. The House found to-day that they were sliding into a regular abolition discussion. John Q. Adams was on the watch for topics and opportunity to reply.

Many attempts were made to break in upon the range of discussion and put down those who took part, on the score of irrelevancy. But they amounted to little.

Mr. Wise, while Mr. Cooper was speaking, rose and said it was evident this discussion would lead to unpleasant results, and he proposed its postponement—but without effect.

Mr. Black of Georgia obtained the floor, and took even a more extensive range of remark. Mr. Rayner of North Carolina begged him to desist, saying that many members would be provoked to reply, and that the South would be abused by many members on that floor. It was plain to every one that, if debates of this sort could be tolerated, the House had effected no good purpose by the famous abolition gag rules.

Still the debate went on, every moment threatening to break out into a blaze. Mr. Bynum declared that it was a most important discussion—one that was necessary to show where the South stood, and therefore, if Mr. Black dropped it, he would take it up.

Mr. Black was proceeding to show how free blacks were treated in the northern States. He read various laws of the northern States, showing that the free blacks there were not enrolled in the militia, were not eligible to office, were not allowed the elective franchise, and, in short, possessed not even an apology for freedom. He went on to recite the various and continued outrages perpetrated in the North, on the free persons of color, and on those who befriended them,—told the story of the Canaan school, &c.

Mr. Wise interposed and earnestly protested, as a southern man, against this course of remark. What, says he, must southern members abuse the North for not placing free negroes on an equality with whites!

Mr. Black said this was not his object. He only wished to show that northern friends of the negroes had enough to do at home, in their own States, if their design was to elevate the negro race to an equality of civil and social rank with the white race.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 10.

On Wednesday, which was the day appointed by both Houses for counting the votes for President and Vice President, at twelve o'clock the Senate, preceded by their officers and by the Vice President, entered the Hall of Representatives, and were received by the members standing. The Vice president took a seat by the side of the Speaker, and, after the Senators and members were seated, he rose and announced the purpose of the meeting. The tellers, consisting of Mr. Preston, of the Senate, and Messrs. Cushing and Jones of the House, then proceeded to open and read the certificates returned by the several states. The process occupied some hours, and finally the result was announced—viz: that William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, was elected President of the United States for four years after the fourth of March next; and that John Tyler, of Virginia, was, in like manner, elected Vice President. The result of the votes, as declared, is, for President, William Henry Harrison 234, Martin Van Buren 60. For Vice President, John Tyler 234, R. M. Johnson 48, Littleton Tazewell 21, James Polk 1. When the result was declared there was some clapping of hands in the galleries, which was, however, soon suppressed by a call to order. Before this business was taken up, the House discussed the pension bill, and the resolution to take it out of Committee on Thursday. Mr. Thompson, of S. C. and Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, reconciled the personal difference which had taken place between them a day or two previous.

THURSDAY, Feb. 11.

In the House, to-day, the pension appropriation bill was passed, after having been amended so as to include an appropriation of $100,000 for facilitating the removal of some of the Seminole Indians.

The House adjourned at an early hour, not appearing disposed to do much business.

In the Senate, Mr. Tappan presented a petition signed by some two or three hundred citizens of Ohio, asking the recognition of the independence of Hayti—and another from the same State, asking that the seat of government may be removed to Cincinnati. Both of these papers were laid on the table.

Mr. Preston, from the joint committee appointed to wait on General Harrison, and inform him of his election to the Presidency, reported that they had discharged that duty; and that Gen. Harrison replied, "That he received the manifestation of the confidence of his countrymen with profound gratitude, and that he would earnestly devote himself, according to the best of his ability, in promoting the union, harmony, and welfare of the republic."

Mr. Crittenden appears not to have lost sight of his favorite measure, preventing officeholders from interfering in elections, and gave notice of his intention to renew that bill.

The Bankrupt Bill was taken up as the special order.

Mr. Smith on Committee then took the floor and retained it until near 3 P. M. Mr. S. went for including banks in the compulsory process;—but spoke against the whole principle of banking as pernicious and ruinous, and said it would be the serpent that would strangle this young republic in its cradle.

FRIDAY, Feb. 12.

The House was engaged, to-day, in the consideration of private bills. Reports from Committees were also received.

The motion to make Mr. Adams' Revenue Bill the special order for 22d Feb. was lost. It is doubtful now whether the bill will be taken up at all.

The *Treasury Note* bill was discussed in the Senate, the whole day; and ultimately it *passed* without amendment, ayes 28, nays 8.

Two very interesting documents were sent to the Senate to-day:—one relating to the Amistad case, covering all the correspondence connected with this vexed question.—The other from Mr. Woodbury, giving his views and calculations as the losses sustained by the Government and the People through the Bank of the United States, and State Banks.

Mr. Woodbury estimated the fluctuations in Bank currency, affecting prices, extravagance in living, sacrifices of property, &c. &c. (not connected with his other computations,) at *one hundred and fifty millions of dollars!!* The aggregate loss he computes at *three hundred and sixty-five millions, four hundred and ninety-seven dollars!!!*

WASHINGTON, Saturday, Feb. 13.

Mr Pickens, from the committee on foreign relations, made a report in the House, to-day, on the subject of the correspondence referred to that committee, relative to the burning of the Caroline and the arrest of M'Leod.

The report produced a deep, immediate, and universal sensation. It fell on the House, as Mr. Adams afterwards said, like a clap of thunder in a summer's day. Still there is nothing in the report which, on careful perusal, will be found untenable in fact or gratuitous in inention. The truth seems to be, that we have wrapt ourselves up in false security, and now shudder at the light of truth. The report tells a plain tale, which he who runs may read;—but it lifts a veil, and discloses a dark and inauspicious future.

If war should arrive between the United States and Great Britain, it would be no common war—it would necessarily be a war of great destruction; there would never be peace until one or the other party was subdued, exhausted, desolated.

The report warns us of the grasping ambition of England —of her power—her commercial rivalry, &c.

In the debate that followed on the motion to print,—Mr. Granger, of New-York, took a prominent and the leading part. He stated that the report had not his concurrence in the committee on foreign relations, and he denounced it as a "*Declaration of War*." He said it made an issue upon which Great Britain might take us up, and go to war at once. He would not abide the issue, as presented. There were many things presented in the report as causes of complaint against Great Britain, as to which we had no information, and in which we had no concern. He was not for taking up all these gratuitous issues.

Mr. Pickens, in his reply, contended that the report had a tendency to the preservation of *peace*. It stated facts, boldly and plainly. Could we secure peace by deceiving ourselves as to facts? He was for peace. He happened to represent a State whose interests were peculiarly pacific. He only looked to a war of *defence* when it might be necessary. He did not desire a debate on the report; his wish was that it might be laid on the table and printed. But the object in making it, was, in part, to call the attention of Congress and the American people to the necessity of preparations for the *national defence*. He stated that the report had the concurrence of a *bare majority* of the committee, and he was sorry for it. He thought it proper to place the true state of the facts before the people. He had made no new issues—he had brought in subjects of complaint and irritation by way of incidental illustration.

Mr. Adams, in the course of his remarks, said that he was sorry that the report was of a strict *party* character. What would be its effect on the American people?—on the world? Would it not be thought that it was the malice of a defeated enemy, setting fire to a tenement that he was forced to abandon? He enjoined upon the country the necessity of union in any war that we should undertake. It would not do to go into war with a "*bare majority*."

He would not dispute the positions of the report. But he would insist that a "bare majority" and a party majority of a Committee, should not commit the country to any issue on this subject. This report, if it was sent out, would be read in England as an official expose of the views and determinations of this government. But who had made up this issue? He had nothing to do with it. No one had been consulted about it. It came upon us suddenly. But, in it, was the issue of peace or war. We should put forth nothing upon which we were not willing to take the issue of war. There were some questions pending between the two nations, as to which we might be wrong and Great Britain right. He would not, therefore, put the question of peace or war on this report.

After further debate, the report was ordered to be printed, and was then laid on the table.

Mr. Everett moved to print the documents connected with all the subjects of controversy with Great Britain, but the motion was lost.

Mr. Fox's *attaches* heard the debate, and it will go out as a suitable commentary upon Mr. Pickens' report. There is no danger that it will be taken as a declaration of war, or as a manifesto of grievances. It appears to be intended to operate at home—not abroad. It does seem that we are fearful of speaking above our breath, lest Great Britain should overhear us.

The Senate did not sit to-day.

NEW-YORK LEGISLATURE.—*Senate, Monday*, Feb. 8.—Among petitions presented, was one from the citizens of Dutchess county for the abolition of all mechanical labor in the state prisons, one against a division of Otsego county, and one from females Salina for the repeal of the license laws. Resolutions recommending the passage of a bankrupt law by Congress were discussed at considerable length and referred to the Judiciary committee.

House, Feb. 8.—Various petitions presented and referred. Mr. Worden presented the proceedings of the Le Roy Convention respecting the nine-month's slave law. The Speaker laid before the House the State cencus, and twenty times the usual quantity was ordered to be printed.

Senate, Feb. 9.—Petition of voters of Ballston against the registry law, and of grocers and inn-keepers of Salina for an alteration of the license law. Resolutions in favor of the bankrupt law reported by the Judiciary committee with amendments, and adopted after a long debate.

House, Feb. 9.—Petitions—By Mr. Robinson for the repeal of the nine months slavery law, and for extending the right of suffrage to persons of color; by Mr. Richmond for a rail-road from Batavia to Buffalo; by Mr. Townsend for an investigation of the affairs of the Wayne county bank, from citizens of Palmyra. Mr. Culver reported a bill for the construction of a rail-road from Troy to Greenbush.—The resolution requesting the N. Y. and Erie R. R. corporation to make the report required by law for 1840 was adopted.

Senate, Feb. 10.—Petitions—Of inhabitants of Kirkland, Oneida county, for such alterations of the excise laws as may prevent the spread of intemperance; by Mr. Rhodes, of females of Liverpool, and of electors of Salina, for a repeal of the license laws; of citizens of Westmoreland in favor of a general registry law, and to confine elections to one day. Mr. Maynard gave notice of his intention to move a reference of the petitions on the subject of the license laws, together with Mr. Root's report to the committee of the whole. Various bills were passed, and among them one to incorporate the New-York Baptist Missionary Convention.

House, Feb.—Petitions—Of 709 citizens of Albany for a bridge across the Hudson near that city; for a new county from parts of Genesee and Alleghany; of 1400 legal voters of New-York city against the registry law; of 340 citizens of Oneida county for a general registry law, and to confine elections to one day. Resolutions in relation to the public lands taken up and discussed.

Mr. French, from the select committee upon applications for the use of the Assembly Chamber, reported in favor of granting the use of the room this evening to Mr. Grimes, for the delivery of a lecture upon Phrenology, which resolution was adopted.

And in favor of the application of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society, for the delivery of an address by James G. Birney, on to-morrow evening; which was also adopted.

February 11, 12, 13.—The business transacted was unimportant.

PENNSYLVANIA LEGISLATURE.—The Harrisburgh correspondent of the Journal of Commerce under date of Feb. 11, says:

A joint resolution was reported, this morning, from the Committee on Banks, which set forth that the Banks of Philadelphia had resumed specie payments on the 15th ult. in compliance with the act of last session, and had made efforts to continue to do so—that millions had been drawn from their coffers, and that now it was apparent, if the summary provisions of the act of April 3d, 1840, were to be enforced against them, in the event of their being unable longer to comply with the resumption resolution, the consequences would be most disastrous to the Banks and more particularly to the community at large, as they would be deprived of a currency, &c., therefore resolved in order to give the Legislature time to devise some remedy for the present exigency, both branches of the Legislature would suspend the operation of the provisions of the law in question for the space of *forty days*. Mr. Spackman, of Philadelphia, moved that the Senate proceed to consider the resolution; but the motion was negatived, and the resolution made the order of the day for to-morrow.

A Committe from Philadelphia, on the subject of the Banks have just arrived.

MAINE LEGISLATURE.—The Bill giving to the people the election of County Commissioners, Clerks of Courts, and County Attorneys, has passed both Houses of the Legislature with some amendments. Resolves on the subject of the currency, and instructing our senators in Congress to vote for the principles set forth in them, have been warmly debated for several days, and finally passed. Judge Kingsbury has accepted the office of State Treasurer, and been duly qualified. Rev. Luther Lee appeared before a Committe on Monday and Tuesday evenings last, and advocated the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. He contended that slavery in the District is unconstitutional, and this point he fortified by several ingenious arguments. All is then, let some slave be furnished with money enough to sue for his constitutional rights of liberty, before the Supreme Court of the U. S. and Mr. L. believed that Court would decide Slavery to be unconstitutional. This would be the shortest way to settle the whole controversy.—*Gospel Banner.*

The following resolutions were introduced on the 3d instant:

Resolved, That the Governor be authorised to take immediate measures to remove the troops of the Queen of Great Britain, now quartered on the territory, called disputed by the British Government, but by the treaty of 1783, by the Resolutions of both Houses of Congress passed in 1838, and by repeated resolves of the Legislature of Maine, clearly and unequivocally a part of the rightful soil of this State.

Resolved, That the resources of this State be and they hereby are placed at the disposal of the Governor, and the specific sum of four hundred thousand dollars be and the same hereby is appropriated out of any money in the Treasury, for the purpose of carrying said resolutions into effect.

The Resolves were referred to the Committee on N. E. Boundary.

OHIO LEGISLATURE.—A bill is before this body to incorporate the "Grand Lodge of free and accepted masons, for the state of Ohio." The Xenia Free Press urges some very strong reasons against its passage.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.—The House of Representatives, by a vote of 209 to 134, have passed the bill to abolish the punishment of death for rape, arson, and treason against the Commonwealth; imprisonment for life being substituted. The only exception is where the arson occasions the loss of human life.

RHODE ISLAND LEGISLATURE.—The Legislature of Rhode Island have passed a bill providing for the choice of members of Congress at the general election in April, instead of August, as heretofore. This may have been done in anticipation of the proposed extra session of Congress. The same body has also provided for a convention of the people to decide upon the adoption of a State Constitution in place of the old charter.

Slavery in Kentucky.—The Louisville Public Advertiser quotes the Lexington Observer and Reporter, as saying that "Kentucky would this day abolish slavery if a convention were called to remodel her Constitution," and "concurs" in the opinion. The two papers represent, in part, the two political parties in the State.

Colored People excluded from Public Vehicles.—William W. Skirving, agent, and Lucius Deleber, driver, of Rail-Road car No. 7, were tried in the court of sessions on the 10th inst., for an assault and battery on Thomas Downing, colored man, and a celebrated oyster vender of No. 5 Broad street, on the 30th December last. Mr. Downing rode up to 14th street inside the car, without opposition; and on returning got on the car near 14th street, went inside and sat down, only two persons (white females) being there. Downing was ordered out—refused to go; was ordered out again, and again refused—when the agent said, then they would tear him out, and the agent siezing him by the collar, the driver struck him under the ear, and with others beat and kicked him, broke his hat, and forced him violently out of the car. The cartilage of one ear was divided for half an inch, and both ears cut, and the skin torn down under one of them. His leg was badly bruised and swollen, until it was 3 1-2 inches larger than the other, as Dr. Bliss deposed. It was proved that there was a general regulation, that no colored persons were to ride inside of the car, but on the top, in accordance with the tone of public opinion, though some rode inside almost every day. The agent and driver were discharged for their violence. No violence was ever allowed by the company to be used to any person, Downing deposed that he was not aware of any rule to exclude colored persons from an inside seat.

Judge Lynch charged the Jury, in order to make out the justification of the accused, it must appear that a reasonable and proper regulation had been made by the Company to exclude colored people form their cars. This company was a coporation which had been created for the public convenience as well as their own private benefit, and their regulations must therefore be proper and consistent with the convenience of travellers. In order to be so, as regarded the present case, it must be shown that such due notice had been given of the regulation, that those interested in it could have known, and might conform to it. And it must also appear that the defendants had used no greater force than was necessary to carry the regulations into effect. As to the regulation being proper, in the abstract, counsel at both sides had conceded that it was so, and therefore the court felt it unnecessary to make any remarks on that part of the subject. It appeared that such a notice had been publicly given by the Company, and continued to be given for so considerable a time, as they thought sufficient to apprize the public. The Jury were at liberty to draw inferences, as to whether their notice was known to the complainant, from the fact of those regulations having been last spring enforced against part of Mr. Downing's family, at which time his son told his mother of the occurrence, but did not tell it to his father. From this circumstance the Jury were at liberty to infer, whether or not it was probable that it reached the complainant. The Jury should also take into consideration the fact of the complainant having gone up on the car without being questioned or refused, and that it was when returning, the difficulty occurred; and consider whether that circumstance might not have thrown him off his guard. But it must also be borne in mind, that he was called on to leave the car by the agent who, it did not appear, had any knowledge of his having gone up in the car. This agent desired him to leave the car, and perhaps not in such civil terms as he ought to have done, but no violence was offered to the complainant until the order was repeated to him to leave the car. The complainant then defied an agent, by saying that they could not put him out, and recourse was then had to the assistance of two or three other persons to effect it. The question then comes, was the blow he received, necessary to remove him, or did he receive any blow? Of this the Jury were to judge. Two witnesses who saw the transaction testified that he received no blow, and the Jury would say whether a blow was given him, or he received the hurt from being pushed against the railing or door post. The Jury would therefore determine whether the complainant had due notice of the regulation to exclude colored people, and whether a greater degree of violence was used towards him than was necessary to put him out, and give a verdict accordingly. Verdict, not guilty;—which caused loud applause from the audience, but which was immediately suppressed by order of the Court.—*Jour. of Com.*

The Onondaga Indians.—La Fort, a chief of this tribe, called upon us the other day, to get the correspondence between Messrs. Forsyth and Fox, in relation to the Caroline affair. We took the occasion to make some enquiries of him about the present state of the nation. It is generally supposed that all the tribes of Indians surrounded by *civilization*, are decreasing and dwindling away. However this remark may apply to others, (and we believe generally speaking it is correct,) we are happy to say it is not true of the Onondagas; although, until within a few years, such was the melancholy fact with them.

The Onondagas are now most generally engaged in agriculture, and are making themselves, thereby, comfortably off, and even some of them rich. Andreauga, who died about two years since, has left a widow who can scarcely be beat by our *pale-face* farmers. She had, last fall, over fifty acres of wheat put into the ground. Besides wheat, she raises all kinds of produce of the country, live stock, and *cuts lots* of hay. The different individuals of the tribe are increasing their comforts, erecting better buildings than they have had heretofore, and appear to be getting along in the ways of civilization and intelligence about as fast as some other parts of the country, which the recent census has disclosed. This tribe numbers now between three and four hundred, and has increased nearly 20 per cent. for four years past. The disease of which they have mostly died, is the consumption—caused, in the main, by drunkenness and its concomitant evils. There is a law against selling or giving ardent spirits to the Indians, but the motive of gain, with some beings, breaks down all restraint of this kind.

Mr. La Fort, the above named chief, sends his children to a common English school, near the Reservation.—*Western State Journal*

Mayor of Providence.—It pains me to communicate the fact that our new Mayor, Thomas M. Burgess, on Friday, the 5th, made a treat for all his friends and the citizens generally at his residence, through a notice in the Providence Daily Journal, inviting them between 11 and 2 o'clock on that day. From the circumstance that Mr. B. was a professed religious man, communing regularly with one of our Orthodox churches, and occasionally taking part in their religious services, but belonging to a church in the southern part of our country, and professing interest in the great cause of temperance to which your paper is principally devoted; many good friends of the cause, here, professed to believe he would not offer intoxicating drinks on that occasion; but he did, and plenty of *wine* was on hand, for those who chose to partake of it. He has wounded the feelings of many of his friends by the course he has seen fit to pursue. There is a coincidence (and perhaps there was no design in it,) that at the same hour our citizens were setting an example of wine-bidding, our Legislature were engaged in making a License Law, *professedly* to stay the progress of drunkeness, but *really* to make the traffic in alcohol honorable and respectable in the eyes of the community. The Rhode Island coat of arms bears the motto, "IN GOD WE HOPE." And in whom else can we hope? I almost despair when I see such an array of opposition to the progress of temperance, especially among professed christians, and the influential and respectable portion of this city. Is it too much to say that on their shoulders rest the evils of intemperance!—*Cor. Olive Leaf.*

Another Outrage.—It appears the feelings excited against the negroes at Dayton, Ohio, have not yet subsided. We learn from the Journal of the 5th inst. that on the morning previous, three houses occupied by blacks were fired and burnt to the ground. No alarm of fire was given, but the buildings were allowed to be consumed, without any effort to extinguish the flames, their contents being consumed in them. The city council of Dayton have offered a reward of $150 for the apprehension of either of the incendiaries.

McLeod Affair.—The British Colonist (official paper) of Feb. 3d, says "that Gov. Arthur has forwarded despatches to the Governor General, and also to Mr. Fox, British Minister at Washington, in reference to the recent proceedings which took place at Lockport in relation to this individual."

The Cabinet.—It is of necessity that the President elect should, some days before he enters on the duties of his high office, make selections of persons to fill the chief Executive Departments of Government. From information, which we presume may be relied on, we have the pleasure of being able to inform our readers that, in all probability, the Cabinet of the new President, so far as depends upon him, will be thus composed:

Secretary of State—Daniel Webster, of the State of Massachusetts.

Secretary of the Treasury—Thomas Ewing, of the State of Ohio.

Secretary of War—John Bell, of the State of Tennessee.

Secretary of the Navy—George E. Badger, of the State of North Carolina.

Postmaster General—Francis Granger, of the State of New-York.

Attorney General—J. J. Crittenden, of the State of Kentucky.—*Nat. Intelligencer.*

A petition presented to the Pennsylvania Legislature, praying that all laws relative to blasphemy, labor on the Sabbath, and other things of like character be repealed, was indefinitely postponed on Monday.

Civilities.—General Harrison, on Wednesday, called on Hon. John Quincy Adams, and upon the President. The meeting at the White House was cordial and pleasant; and it is understood that the President elect will dine with the present incumbent

The Vanished Seasons.

BY RICHARD HOWITT.

When first the snow-drop told of flowers
Of Spring, what busy hopes were ours,
Whilst yet fair nature's folded powers
Were silver cold:
Of April-sweets in sunbow-showers,
And May's flower-gold.

The violet and the primrose fleet,
In their old stations did we meet,
As travellers, passingly, who greet,
Just seen and fled:
And then was Spring, that maiden sweet,
A beauty dead.

Then Summer came, a matron fair,
Showering June's roses on the air;
With field-flowers waving every where,
In meadows bright:
With blissful sounds, with visions rare,
A large delight.

How rich the woods! how loud the song!
How glad was nature's heart and strong
With beams that might not linger long,
The Summer shone
A scythe was heard—a sound of wrong—
And she was gone.

Next sun-burnt Autumn trod the plain,
With ruddy fruits, and rustling grain;
And laboring steed, and loaded wain;
And mirthful cheer:
Then vanished she with all her train,
From stubbles sere.

The light unspringing from the ground,
The light of flowers no more is found;
Nor song of birds, nor stream's glad sound,
May longer flow:
Now Winter with dead leaves is crowned,
Where shall we go?

Where gleams the fire on Milton's bust,
Gold bronzing Time insidious rust,
And in strong Shakspeare's light we must
Our joyance take:
And, to the past and present just,
Fresh summer make.

It shall not be a time of gloom!
Gathered from nature's endless bloom!
With happy light we will illume
The season sad:
And nightly make our winter-room
An Eden glad!

From the Knickerbocker for February.

A Song of the Sea.

BY H. W ROCKWELL.

A bold, brave crew, and an ocean blue,
And a ship that loves the blast,
With a good wind piping merrily
In the tall and gallant mast:
Ha! ha! my boys,
These are the joys
Of the noble and the brave,
Who love a life
In the tempest's strife,
And a home on the mountain-wave!

When the driving rain of the hurricane
Puts the light of the light-house out;
And the growling thunder sounds its gong
On the whirlwind's battle-rout:
Ha! ha! do you think
That the valiant shrink?
No! no!—we are bold and brave!
And we love to fight,
In the wild midnight,
With the storm on the mountain-wave!

Breezes that die where the green-woods sigh,
To the landsman sweet may be,
But give to the brave the broad-backed wave,
And the tempest's midnight glee!
Ha! ha! the blast,
And the rocking mast,
And the sea-wind brisk and cold,
And the thunder's jar
On the seas afar,
Are the things that suit the bold!

The timbers creak, the sea-birds shriek,
There's lightning in yon blast!
Hard to the leeward! mariners,
For the storm is gathering fast!
Ha! ha! to-night,
Boys, we must fight;
But the winds which o'er us yell
Shall never scare
The mariner
In his winged citadel!

The Inquiry.

Tell me, ye winged winds,
That round my pathway roar,
Do ye not know some spot
Where mortals weep no more?
Some lone and pleasant dell,
Some valley in the West,
Where, free from toil and pain,
The weary soul may rest?
The loud wind dwindled to a whisper low,
And sighed for pity as it answered "No!"

Tell me, thou mighty deep,
Whose billows round me play:
Know'st thou some favored spot,
Some island far away,
Where weary man may find
The bliss for which he sighs,
Where sorrow never lives,
And friendship never dies?
The loud waves rolling in perpetual flow,
Stopped for a while, and sighed to answer "No!"

And thou, serenest moon,
That with such holy face
Dost look upon the earth
Asleep in night's embrace:
Tell me, in all thy round,
Hast thou not seen some spot
Where miserable man
Might find a happier lot?
Behind a cloud the moon withdrew in wo,
And a voice, sweet, but sad, responded "No!"

Tell me, my secret soul,
Oh! tell me, Hope and Faith!
Is there no resting place
From sorrow, sin, and death;
Is there no happy spot
Where mortals may be blessed,
Where grief may find a balm,
And weariness a rest?
Faith, Hope, and Love, best boons to mortals given,
Wav'd their bright wings, and whispered, "*Yes, in Heaven.*"

MISCELLANEOUS.

From the Lowell Patriot.

Irish Converts to Temperance.

Through the exertions of Mr. Brady, Pastor of the Catholic Church in Lowell, the Catholic Temperance Society already numbers one hundred and fifty six members, which must be a very large proportion of the Irish among us. Few, perhaps, are aware what an influence Father Mathew's exertions, in the cause of Temperance, on the other side of the Atlantic, are having on our own Irish population, and indeed on the Irish all over the world—for, in fact, Ireland supplies laborers for almost every portion of the globe, and we venture to say that wherever there is a considerable number of Irishmen, Father Mathew's name is familiar as a household word. His disciples are fast spreading themselves every where. Many have already arrived in this country, and wherever they appear, they exert a most salutary influence among their countrymen, all accounts agreeing that, in general, one of these men would sooner part with his life than violate the pledge.

The last number of the North American Review contains a most admirable article on the Irish in America, which we wish all our readers could peruse, and which we intend to draw upon for a few facts in relation to temperance among them. This principle of temperance, the writer says, is "all in all for Ireland, and to the Irish here an unspeakable blessing." It was stated some time since in the Boston Pilot, a Catholic Journal, that at least 6000 had taken the pledge in the New England States alone. In Lowell, nearly 2000; in Providence and vicinity, upwards of 1000; in Salem, 156; and a large number in other places. In Pennsylvania, 11,700 certificates had been issued, and many in the States of Delaware, Ohio and elsewhere although considerable difficulty had been experienced in some places, from the fact that contractors on the public works are allowed to supply their workmen with liquor.

We can not better convey an idea of what Temperance is doing for the Irish than by quoting the following extract from a letter written by the Rev. James McDermott, of Lowell, to the writer in the Review, who assigns to his Reverend correspondent the most conspicuous place among the Catholic ecclesiastics, who have been prominent in urging on this great moral reformation. "His labors," says our author, "have been unceasing, his zeal untiring, and his success complete. This excellent priest addressed his flock on the subject of temperance, for the first time, on the 18th of June last. And between that period and the 23d of November, 1,736 persons, comprising almost all the adult Irish of the city, have taken the pledge and *have kept it sacred*." Before proceeding to the extract, we cannot forbear from giving our testimony to the fidelity with which the pledge is kept, in several instances which have come under our observation or to our knowledge. The converts have undergone a complete transformation, have become respectable and worthy citizens, and have brought happiness and comfort to their homes. The cause has our best wishes for its complete success. Mr. McDermott writes:

"I know not of one habitual Irish drunkard in this place, and there are but very few who drink ardent spirits at all. The temperate drinkers, as they style themselves, begin to join our society, one by one. A change of circumstances and condition is the happy effect of change of habit. Their homes are now clean and comfortable, and they are happy and respected by the authorities and the citizens. To the officers and board, who are a light to this city and this land, we owe a debt of gratitude, which time can never cancel. In them I have always found protection and support, and a kind co-operation in all my humble efforts to promote the happiness of the flock intrusted to my spiritual charge. To our enlightened Board of Education, the Irish citizens are deeply indebted for an honest liberality in the appropriation of the school fund, and in the provision made for the education of their children. We have one grammar and five primary schools established exclusively for the Catholic children, supplied with competent and approved teachers, who get a liberal salary; and the committee acknowledge that the children are as docile in their deportment, and as studious as any in the country. The Irish here are sensible of their advantages, and are determined to deserve them. Let the other cities of the Union do as our own happy Lowell has done, and the next generation will never blush at the brotherhood of an Irish American."

From the Evening Post.

Seneca Indians.

A work has just appeared, entitled "An Appeal to the Christian Community on the Condition and Prospects of the New-York Indians," in answer to a book entitled "The Case of the New-York Indians," and other publications of the society of Friends, purporting to be written by Nathaniel T. Strong, a chief of the emigrating party of the Seneca Nation. The committee of the society of Friends will doubtless feel called upon to notice this production—in the mean time one of that committee may be permitted to make a few remarks.

In reading over this work, doubts were suggested to my mind as to its paternity. If it was really the work of this Indian chief, our representation as to the progress of knowledge among them has not been overrated, although judging from this work, we may have erred as to our estimation of their morality. The extreme sensitiveness with which he speaks of the charges of bribery against the chiefs, of which such flagrant proof had been brought to light, seem to favor the idea of his being the author, were it not that others are more deeply implicated in this crime than himself.

He calls these bribes, 'presents,' and 'personal gratuities,' and says they are always given to Indian chiefs in making treaties.

It has appeared to me that had he simply told us, how many thousand dollars was the amount of the present he himself was to receive, on the final execution of the treaty and sale of the lands of his brethren, and whether he himself intended to remove permanently to the west of the Mississippi, or to remain in this state, he would have cast more light upon the subject, than this elaborate work has done. To me it appears like the special pleading of a city lawyer to hide plain truths that could not be counted, and I must be allowed to exonerate the ostensible author, and place its parentage on the Ogden company, where it properly belongs.

The work commences with professions of the most benevolent feelings towards the Indians, depicts their deplorable condition here, and entreats, that they "may be permitted to enter on the new path which a kind providence had opened for their escape from bondage, degradation and misery." Such of us as have visited these Indians in their abodes, (of whom I am one) and have seen their comparative comforts, and learned from their own lips, their utter abhorrence of a removal to the far west, cannot recognise any trait of truth in this picture. We have said, and I repeat it, "had we found the Indians disposed to sell, and that a fair contract had been entered into by them, we should have interposed no obstacle to its fulfilment." From the whole tenor of this work, a stranger might be led to suppose, that the Indians were most anxious to remove, but that the Friends, of a strange fanatical spirit, forbade it, whereas we believe the writer could not but have known that fourteen-fifteenths of the whole Seneca Nation were opposed to removing. We need not enter on the subject of the original purchase of the Geen Bay lands by two clergymen for the purpose of dispossessing the New-York Indians of their present homes. It is sufficient that the Senecas—with the exception of a few emigrating chiefs—deny all participation in that affair, or that they have any right or claim to those lands whatever. The dark double dealing of that transaction is pretty well laid open in the speech of A. H. Sevier, chairman of the committee on Indian affairs, in the Senate, to which we refer the reader.

It is a satisfaction to me to find that no attempt is made to disprove any important fact stated in "the case;" a few of our statements are denied, but no clue is afforded by which we can discover their incorrectness.

We find a good deal of declamation in favor of the humane policy of the government in its efforts to remove the Indians beyond the Mississippi, to preserve them there, a separate people. We have never attacked this plan, or called in question the humanity of its projectors. We have, however, never heard it recommended as respects emigrants from England, Ireland, or Germany, and we cannot see why this whole race of men are not entitled to as good treatment as are foreigners. And when we see the misery that has flowed from enforcing the policy spoken of, as respects the Creeks, Cherokees, Seminoles, &c., its benevolence, its mercy, and its justice may well be called in question. A deplorable picture is drawn, in this work, of encroachments inflicted on his people by the whites. We admit its truth, and it is one of those very grievances inflicted by this powerful Ogden company, that we are seeking to redress. The writer in his assumed Indian character says, "we first opened a correspondence with the government of the United States, imploring its aid and protection." "We were told in answer, that it was not in the power of the government to extend to us the protection required whilst remaining in the State of New-York, and were advised to remove to the territory provided for us beyond the Mississippi." The writer then relates how the Indians sent on a delegation to Washington to ascertain the views of the President, and obtain appropriations for the purpose of visiting the West. He does not tell us the sum granted, but that they were sufficiently liberal may be inferred from the fact that one of the deputations to Washington in favor of the treaty were allowed by the government their travelling expenses, including segars, champaigne, &c., more than one thousand dollars per head, while the delegation opposed to the treaty, representing nearly the whole nation, could not obtain enough of their own money from their own agent to enable them to reach Washington, without the aid of the benevolent. He makes several assertions respecting the signing of the treaty which are unsupported by facts, assumes that it was by no means necessary that it should have been done in open council, and advances a new doctrine on the authority of Senator Wright, viz:—that if "only six of the Sachems of the Seneca nation had signed the treaty, it would have been valid." He quotes largely from the speech of this Senator, delivered in his place in the secret session in the Senate of the United States. I have always regretted that this Senator had not informed himself more correctly of the true character of this business; he might then have been spared the discredit of having attempted to cast over its deformity, the mantle of benevolence; and of having unjustly calumniated the character of these Indians, and thus afforded a pretext to the Ogden Company to sieze on their possessions!

The charges advanced against William Penn in this work as respects his treatment of the Indians, we shall not attempt to refuse, seeing no proofs of the acts alleged against him are offerred.

History at least shows that he was in advance of the age in which he lived, and the uniform cordiality maintained between him and the aborigines, through the whole period of his government, and the manner in which his memory is still cherished by their descendants, render no reply needful; nor need I meet the charges brought by this company against ourselves; the consciousness of having faithfully fulfilled our duty will be a sufficient reward, but we hope to have the additional one of having been the instruments of saving this people from their rapacity.

The impression is given, in the work before me, that the other tribes of New-York Indians had signed a treaty, and would remove beyond the Mississippi whatever became of the Senecas. It is true they have signed a treaty, but not before they became well satisfied that it laid them under no obligation to remove from their present home. The Onondaga, the Oneida, and the St. Regis Indians, can sell, or not sell, their lands at any time, and the State of New-York only can purchase them. The treaty offers them three hundred and twenty acres each, in fee, and other inducements on going beyond the Mississippi, as a gratuity, in order to carry out the policy of the government; but they are disposed to remain, and their situation is improving, notwithstanding the injuries they suffer. Their fears of a change are great, their confidence in the promises of the government little. They see that similar promises were made to the Cherokees and were not fulfilled. Repeated applications have been made for the deeds pledged to them by the government, but they are withheld, the annuities due that people and greatly needed on the first settlement in their remote situation, are not paid them, whereas the annuities to the New York Indians have been mostly paid, with regularity at least, to their agent.

The charge that Friends are little scrupulous in inducing Indians to make affidavits when they will not swear themselves, will fall to the ground when it becomes known that the first knowledge the committe of Friends had of those affidavits was when copies of them were put into their hands, after they had been duly executed. Besides, while we ask that our own conscientious scruples may be respected, we do not expect that others who have not those scruples, should conform to our views. We ask for ourselves, and grant to others, liberty of conscience. But to return to our subject, he quotes Senator Wright who speaking of these Indians says, "during forty years they have made no perceptible advance in civilization, so that is impossible to resist the conviction that their preservation from unceasing misery and ultimate extinction can only be found in their separation from the white population, and by conferring on them rights and privileges which in all countries where they are enjoyed have been gradually found to lead to civilization and to prepare the way for the introduction of Christianity, with all its happy influences." I conceive it impossible that any one who has known this people during the period mentioned, can for a moment admit the truth of the first part of this quotation. The improvement of these Indians we know has been great during that period, and why, I ask, cannot an enlightened nation like ours grant those further privileges to this people, so esential to their welfare where they now are, instead of sending them one thousand miles distant to enjoy them?

Great parade is made of the $100,000, so liberally added by the United States to the price paid by the Ogden Company. And who is to be benefitted by this vast appropriation? I answer, the Ogden Company and the grasping harpies, the contractors, who will pocket it for dragging these distressed people from their homes, and the graves of their fathers, to the far west. And this sum, too, is likely to be clear gain to these contractors, for the Indians, if compelled to remove, will probably go into Canada, and thus lose all their possessions in this world. It is true the committee of the Society of Friends have received an intimation that they themselves might see to its faithful application, but is it likely that they will consent to be agents in carrying out an act of injustice, that the victim may be more easily led to the place where he is to suffer?

Since the Ogden Company have at last come out, under the signature of an Indian, let them not abandon the field, until the whole truth is elicited. I will therefore ask them a few questions.

1st. What is the amount of the present to be paid to Nathaniel T. Strong, should the treaty and bill of sale be fully carried out? Report says between ten and twenty thousand dollars, and nearer the latter sum?

2nd. What reasonable objection can the emigrating Indians make to the offers repeatedly made them by the majority, viz. to give them their share of the property of the nation,—that they may remove to the far west, without compelling their brethren to do so likewise?

3d. Seeing the Ogden Company deny that the Indians have any right of fee in their own lands, although guaranteed to them by the United States, can they deny their right to hold them in undisturbed possession forever?

We may ask a few other questions when these are answered.

A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE ON INDIAN CONCERNS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

N. B.—A petition from the Seneca nation has recently been forwarded to Congress against granting the appropriation applied for by the Ogden Company, for carrying the treaty into effect, and signed by sixty-six chiefs, and petitions to the same import, signed by many thousand citizens in the western parts of this state, have also been forwarded.

Complaint against Complaining.

Every editor of a newspaper is annoyed more or less, with the complaints of his readers,—and, as he has the example so frequently set before him, he may be pardoned, if in turn he should complain himself. He may very naturally indulge himself, therefore, in examining the sources of this fault finding, and when he has made his observations, he very likely can locate some of these annoyances as follows.—

1. *Some subscribers do not thoroughly read their paper.* Such has been the multiplicity of publications of late in the newspaper way, that men have acquired the habit of simply glancing at them and passing them by, to make room for others which are waiting to be served in a similar way. The short scraps,—or more properly speaking, the light trash—put in partly to *fill up the chinks*, are read; but the longer, and generally the better articles are passed by without notice. Now with this class of readers, a sober weekly sheet, which depends upon its *value* for its living, is very likely to fall into disrepute with this whole class. It has not been unnatural to hear such readers complain that our paper was uninteresting. Says Mr. Q. one day in our hearing, "I don't think your paper very interesting of late." "Ah! we are sorry for that, Mr. Q.,—hope we shall make it better." "The last No.," continued he, "was uncommonly dull."—"Well now," said Mr. X. "I thought that No. was uncommonly interesting. I sat down Saturday evening, and read the two first pages through before I got up, and the rest I read the first opportunity." "Read two pages through!" said Q. "Why, bless you, I never look at the outside! I can generally read all I wish to in three minutes!" "Ah," rejoined X. "that explains the mystery!"—"And sure enough, so it does," thought we. The man has read nothing but the *small stuff*. Now this in the way, we presume, with many readers. They glance hastily at the lighter matter, and throw the paper aside, and do not know that we have labored to collect a fund of excellent reading. Our first page is, for the most part, filled with the best reading which we are able to select from all the sources within our reach; and if there were no other merit to the paper we should be unwilling to confess that the paper was sold for more than its value. We claim, then, that the paper *should be read through* before it is charged with deficiency of interest.

2. Some readers *are borrowers* of the paper they read. Being for the most part of a mean spirit themselves, they can see but little that is good elsewhere. As, however, they cannot bear to get their reading absolutely for nothing, they resort to a bestowment of complaint upon the publishers or editors for their alleged faults. Hence you will find, that of all those who complain most bitterly of the defects of any periodical the *borrowers* will be most conspicuous, except,

3. That class of subscribers, who very obligingly *take* the paper, but systematically refuse to *pay* for it. This class of course are privileged to complain, because they take the paper. Conscious of their injustice—and it is a very dishonorable injustice to cheat the toiling printer—they have a motive to magnify the short comings of others it may be. Such subscribers are very substantial supporters to a paper, and of course their opinion and taste should be very particularly consulted.

Be it known, then, that we enter our protest against all such complaints. The first class have their remedy pointed out to them in the worthy example of our very worthy Friend X. before named; and if all such superficial readers will but spend their Saturday evenings as well as he does habitually, they will at the end of the year have too much intelligence to make such a complaint.

As to the other two classes—the *borrowers* and the *swindlers*—they must convince us they have souls equal to a grain of mustard seed, before we shall consider them worth further notice.—*Watchtower.*

'The Hour and the Man.'

This, as our readers are already aware, is the somewhat singular title of Miss Martineau's new and deeply interesting historical romance. It possesses higher claims to the attention of the considerate than most works of its class. It depends not for its interest upon romantic incidents, finely spun sentimentalities, or such high-soaring rhapsodies as we look for in Bulwer's forthcoming work; but it speaks, in a clear, manly voice, the rights, as well as the duties of Humanity: it utters a word of hope for the crushed and downtrodden; you feel in it the beat of the human heart—with its wide-reaching, all-embracing sympathies. Its hero and all its prominent characters are negroes, and the scenes which it portrays are those connected with the celebrated Revolution of St. Domingo. Before we pronounce the high moral character which Miss Martineau has given to this historical event, false and exaggerated, we must remember that nearly all our knowledge of it has been drawn from the reports of the discomfitted French, which, for very obvious reasons, are to be received with many grains of allowance. Toussaint L'Ouverture, in the book before us, is presented as a great and heroic man: prudent and far-reaching in his policy, humane and regardful of the rights of others, unyielding in his integrity—calm, unselfish and humble in his exaltation, and sternly 'true to himself' in the depths of his adversity.

The main interest of the work clusters about the hero; although we have several thrilling and beautiful episodical sketches, they are all subordinate to the great purpose of the work, and only seem to set forth in still more vivid colors the daring and high resolve of the "Napoleon of St. Domingo." Such are the stories of the love of Moyse and Génifréde, of "an old man in new days," &c.

The literary execution of this novel is admirable. Whatever may be thought of its doctrines, or of the influence it is calculated to exert upon certain domestic institutions, no one can deny to it the merits of a bold, vigorous style, clear, and vivid sketches of character and incident, and occasional passages of great beauty and sublimity of thought. The treacherous capture of the gallant negro chief by the French commandant is well described: his proud, self-possessed, uncomplaining demeanor during his captivity stands out in bold contrast to the narrow, selfish, inhuman ambition of his mighty tyrant: in his cell among the Alps—afar from the scene of his labors and the land of his race, his heart still yearns toward his brethren: no thought of vengeance haunts him—no wish but for the peace and happiness of those whom he has left. "My children," says he, from the depths of his damp, solitary dungeon, "my children, hear me! Wherever you are, in the court of your tyrant, or on the wide sea, or on the mountain-top, where the very storms cannot make themselves heard so high, yet let your father's voice reach you from his living grave!—No vengeance! Freedom, freedom to the last drop of blood in the veins of our race! Let our island be left to the wild herds and the reptiles, rather than to be the habitation of slaves: but if you have estabished freedom there, it is holy ground, and no vengeance must profane it. If you love me and my race, you must forgive my murderers."—*New-Yorker.*

ANECDOTE OF JOHN ADAMS.—We find in Whitney's History of the town of Quincy, Mass. the following anecdote of the boyhood of the elder Adams, which may provoke a smile, as well as illustrate the economy and simplicity of those early times in New England. The public school in Quincy was taught for many years by a Mrs. Belcher—"It was a custom with her to carry her corn to mill herself, except when some one of her scholars lent her a helping hand. John Adams (one of the number) afterwards President of the United States, was a favorite among the rest, and when he carried the corn, she gave him as a reward three coppers, and charged him at the same time to keep his money to buy land with. It is unnecessary to add how well he profitted by early instruction."

GOD PROVIDES FOR CHILDREN.—A friend once said to the Rev. Moses Brown, 'Sir! you have just as many children as the patriarch Jacob.' 'True,' answered the good old divine; 'and I have also Jacob's God to provide for them.'

THEOLOGY—Controversial—is to religion what law is to justice—a science which darkens by its illustrations, and misses its object in its over anxiety to attain it. If truth may be called the sun of religion, controversial theology is assuredly its Will-o'-the-wisp.

MISFORTUNE "Calamity is man's true touchstone," saith the poet. Like the thick bandages around the mummy, prosperity conceals our hideousness but when adversity comes, the cerements fall off and the blackened, ghastly skeleton is fully revealed.

NOTICES.

SECOND APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC ON BEHALF OF THE AFRICANS TAKEN IN THE AMISTAD.

The time has now arrived when new and heavy expenses are to be incurred for the protection and deliverance of the thirty-six surviving Africans who are still in the custody of our government, awaiting the final decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. Several hundreds of dollars are still due for the expenses of instructing them daily for upward of fifteen months, and eminent counsel will be engaged as soon as the means are furnished, to conduct their defence, at Washington City, next January. If any one doubts the extremity of the peril in which these Africans are placed, let him read the Congressional document containing the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Spanish Minister.

Shall these hapless sons of Africa, for want of farther aid, and able professional defenders, be surrendered to the Spanish Minister, who claims them "not as slaves but as assassins!" Will not the generous men and women who have already contributed to afford instruction and legal protection to these interesting strangers, again open their hands for their relief—and will not those who have not yet contributed for these noble purposes, forward their donations, which are needed more than ever at this juncture? Donors can designate in what way their benefactions shall be appropriated—whether for education or general purposes. Such sums as may be contributed for the former purpose will be handed to the committee at New Haven, Rev. L. Bacon, Rev. H. G. Ludlow, and Amos Townsend, Jr. Esq., and other donations will be appropriated by the undersigned according to their best judgment. All donations will be acknowledged in the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter, and a copy sent to each donor. The disbursements will also be published. Money can be sent to Samuel D. Hastings, Esq., No 29 Commerce street, Philadelphia; to Rev. A. A. Phelps, No 36 Washington street, Ellis Gray Loring, Boston; or to Lewis Tppaan, 122 Pearl street, and 131 Nassau street, New-York.

S. S. JOCELYN,
JOSHUA LEAVITT,
LEWIS TAPPAN,
} *Committee.*

SINGING SCHOOLS.

MR. WM. C. WEBSTER would respectfully announce, that he will open a School for the study and practice of SACRED MUSIC, in the Hall corner of Broadway and Houston st., (entrance to which is No. 603 Broadway,) on THURSDAY EVENING, the 19th instant, at 7 o'clock.

A Juvenile Singing School, for children of both sexes, from 6 to 15 years of age, will be commenced on SATURDAY AFTERNOON, the 21st inst., at half past three o'clock, at the same place. The Pestalozzian system is made the basis of instruction in these schools.

Terms to the above schools—the adult, for gentlemen, $3; for ladies, $2 per course of 18 lessons. The Juvenile School, $2 per scholar for 24 lessons.

Tickets of admission to the above schools may be obtained at the Book stores of Gould, Newman & Saxton, corner of Nassau and Fulton streets, John P. Haven, Broadway, and of Mr. W. at his Hall, on the evenings and afternoons of school.

Refer to Rev. J. O. CHOULES, 502 Broome st.
Rev. LA ROY SUNDERLAND, Editor of the Watchman.
L. EAMES, Esq., 88 Hicks st. Brooklyn, N.Y
N. SOUTHARD. Editor Youth's Cabinet.
G. H. ANDREWS, Courier & Enq. Office.

A Rich New Year's Present.

YOUTH'S CABINET.

For Families and Sunday Schools, weekly, at $1 per year, in advance.

THE Fourth Volume of this well known and highly approved Juvenile paper commences the first week in January, 1841, edited by N. Southard. It is made up of choice Narratives, original and select, pleasing Moral and Religious, Literary and Scientific Instruction, a variety of Useful Information, Juvenile Poetry, Anecdotes, &c., all designed to promote the best good of the young. It inculcates impartial Benevolence, Temperance, and all other Christian Virtues.

It is neatly printed on half a royal sheet, and each number contains one or more engravings. It has been highly recommended by one hundred editors and many parents and teachers, in notices and letters like the following:

From a Mother in Springfield, Mass.

"My little girl is delighted with the Cabinet. She can scarcely wait for the week to come round; and when the little welcome messenger arrives, her work or play is laid aside, to have a feast, as she calls it, with the welcome guest. She is willing to make any sacrifice rather than give up her paper."

From a Clergyman in Central New-York.

"My little daughter 8 years old, is very much delighted with your paper; and indeed, I read it myself with great interest."

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Dec. 10, 1840. 6w

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Only, the nations shall be great and free!
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